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COMPARATIVE GRAMMAR OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES

BY

DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D.

Lecturer in Aramaic, etc., Bristol University; author of Arabic Thought and its Place in History, A History of the Fatimid Khalifate, etc.

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CONTENTS

SECTIONS PAGE

I. THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES . . . 1

1. (i) The Semitic Group 1
2. (ii) Babylonia and Assyria 7
3. (iii) Canaan 9
4. (iv) Aramaic 13
5. (v) Arabic 16
    (1) Hijaz dialect 18
    (2) Nejd 18
    (3) ‘Iraq 20
    (4) Syria and Palestine . . . 20
    (5) Egypt 20
    (6) North Africa 21
    (7) Malta 21
    (8) Hadramaut 21
    (9) Oman 21
    Southern Arabic 21
6. (vi) Abyssinian 22

II. THE CONSONANT SOUNDS . . . 24

The Function of a Consonant . . . 24
7. (*a*) The Consonant in a syllable . . 24
8. (*b*) Transcription. 27
9. (*c*) Classification of Consonant Sounds . 29
10. (*d*) The Consonant Sound in detail . 30
    (i) Laryngal Hamza. . . . 30
11. (ii) Laryngal *h* . . . 42
12. (iii) Laryngals *ḥ*, *ḫ* . . . 43
13. (iv) Laryngal ‘ (ع) . . . 46
14. (v) Velar *ġ* (غ) . . . 48
15. (vi) Velar *q* 49

SECTIONS PAGE
16. (vii) The Palatals . . . 50
17. (viii) The Dentals and Sibilants . 53
(*a*) Transmission . . 53
(*b*) Simple Dentals . . 53
(*c*) Final -*t* . . . 54
(*d*) Aspirate Dentals . 55
(*e*) Covered Sounds . . 56
(*f*) Uncovered Sibilants . 60
18. (ix) Labials 62
19. (x) Sonants 63
20. (xi) Semi-vowels . . . 65

III. TEMPORARY MODIFICATION OF CONSONANTS 68

21. (i) Assimilation of Consonants . . . 68
22. (*a*) Assimilation of reflexive *t* . . 69
23. (*b*) Other assimilations of *t* . . 73
24. (*c*) Other Dentals and Sibilants . 74
25. (*d*) Laryngals, Velars, Palatals . . 75
26. (*e*) Labials 76
27. (*f*) Sonants (i) *m, n* . . . 77
28. (ii) *l* 79
29. (iii) *r* 80
30. (*g*) Semi-vowels 81
31. (ii) Dissimilation of Consonants . . . 81
(*a*) Dissimilation of doubles in contact 81
32. (1) Dissimilation of the first . 82
33. (2) Of the second . . . 86
34. (*b*) Dissimilation of repeated initials or finals 87
35. (*c*) Other repeated consonants . . 87
36. (*d*) Special case of sonant *l, r* . . 87
37. *Consonants affected by Vowels* . . 88
(*a*) Aspiration 88
38. (*b*) Palatalization 89
39. (*c*) Change of Labial to Semi-vowel . 90
40. (*d*) Semi-vowels assimilated to Vowels. 90

SECTIONS PAGE

IV. THE VOWELS

41. General 91
42. Accent 93
43. (i) Long Vowel ā. 94
44. (ii) Long Vowel ī 101
45. (iii) Long Vowel ū 102
46. (iv) Short ă 103
47. (v) Short ĭ 108
48. (vi) Short ŭ 110
49. (vii) Diphthong *ay* 113
50. (viii) Diphthong *aw* 114
51. (ix) Contraction of Vowels with Semi-vowels—
(1) Semi-vowel as closure . . 116
52. (2) Semi-vowel as initial . . 116

V. TEMPORARY MODIFICATIONS OF VOWEL SOUNDS 120

53. (i) Influence of Consonants on Vowels . . 120
(*a*) *a* and laryngals 120
54. (*b*) *i*/*u* become *a* near laryngal . . 121
55. (*c*) Long *ī*/*ū* insert *a* before laryngal . 122
56. (*d*) *a* and Emphatic Consonants . . 122
57. (*e*) *i*/*u* with Laryngals or Emphatics . 122
58. (*f*) Influence of Sibilants and Dentals . 123
59. (*g*) Influence of Labials 123
60. (*h*) Influence of Semi-vowels. . . 124
61. (*j*) Vowel Assimilation assisted by Laryngals 124
62. (*k*) Change of quantity due to Laryngals 125
63. (ii) Influence of Vowels on Vowels—
(*a*) Assimilation 126
64. (*b*) Dissimilation 127

VI. TEMPORARY SYLLABIC CHANGES . 129

65. (I) Formation of new Syllables by the use of prosthetic and inserted vowels . . 129
66. (i) Group of two consonants in inception 129
67. (ii) Medial group 132

SECTIONS PAGE
68. (iii) Final group 133
69. (iv) Inserted half-vowel . . . 134
70. (II) Haplology and Elision 135
(a) Consecutive open Syllables with same consonant and same vowel 135
71. (b) Consecutive open Syllables with same consonant and short vowel 136
72. (c) Omission of initial or closure when homogeneous 136
73. (d) Elision of one of two homogeneous consonants separated by a third consonant. 136
74. (e) Vowel Elision 137
75. (III) Metathesis 137

VII. THE PERSONAL PRONOUN . . . 139

76. (A) The Absolute Form 139
77. (1) First Person Singular Absolute . 139
78. (2) First Person Plural Absolute . 141
79. (3) Second Person Absolute . . 142
80. (4) Third Person Absolute . . 145
81. (B) The Suffixed Pronoun . . . 149
82. (1) First Person Singular—
(a) Suffixed to Nouns or Prepositions . . . 149
83. (b) Suffixed to Verbs. . . 150
84. (2) First Person Plural . . . 152
85. (3) Second Person . . . 153
86. (4) Third Person 156

VIII. DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS . . 158

87. General 158
88. (i) Demonstrative *da*, *di* . . . 158
89. (ii) *ha* 162
90. (iii) *hay*, *'ay* 164
91. (iv) *la* 164
92. (v) *ka* 166

SECTIONS PAGE
93. (vi) *na* 166
94. (vii) *ma* 168
95. (viii) *ta* 169
96. (ix) *ya* 170
97. (x) *aga* 171

IX. RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS 172

98. (A) Relative Pronouns—
(i) *dhu*, etc. 172
99. (ii) (*'a*)*l* 172
100. (iii) *ša* 172
101. (iv) *man, ma* 173
102. (B) Interrogative Pronouns—
(i) *ma* 173
103. (ii) *man* 173
104. (iii) *mi* 174
105. (iv) *min* 174
106. (v) *'ay* 174

X. THE NOUN 175

107. (A) Nouns Generally 175
108. (I) Two Consonant Roots . . 176
109. (II) Vocalization of noun stems. . 177
110. (III) Noun Stems with Preformatives . 180
(i) Preformative *m*- . . 180
111. (ii) Preformative *t*- . . 183
112. (iii) Preformative *y*- . . 184
113. (iv) Preformative Hamza . 185
114. (IV) Informatives 186
115. (V) Noun Afformatives—
(*a*) Afformative -*at*, -*t* . . 187
116. (*b*) Afformative -*y*, -*i* . . 188
117. (*c*) Afformative Hamza . . 189
118. (*d*) Afformative -*n* . . . 190
119. (*e*) Afformative -*m*. . . 190
120. (*f*) Afformative -*u* . . . 191

SECTIONS PAGE
121. (B) Gender 191
122. (C) Number 192
(*a*) Plural 192
123. (*b*) Plural Formatives . . . 193
124. (*c*) Broken Plurals 193
125. (*d*) Dual 194
126. (D) The Cases 195
127. (*a*) The Construct 198
128. (*b*) Relative as denoting the Genitive . 200
129. (*c*) Other means of avoiding the direct construct 202
130. (*d*) Later forms of the Accusative . 203
131. (*e*) Adverbial use of the Accusative . 203
132. (E) Determination and Indetermination . 204
133. (F) Comparison of Adjectives . . . 206

XI. THE VERB 208

134. (i) The Verb Stem 208
135. (ii) Verb Themes 209
136. (1) The Primary 211
137. (2) The Intensitive 211
138. (3) The Causative 218
139. (4) The Passive with *n*- . . . 223
140. (5) Reflexive with *t*- . . . 225
141. (6) General Note on the Verb Themes 229
142. (7) Vocalization of Stem Forms and Tenses 229
143. (8) Passive by Vowel Change . . 233
144. (iii) Verb Inflexions 234
(*a*) The Tenses 234
145. (*b*) The Moods 238
146. (*c*) Persons of the West Semitic Perfect 241
147. (*d*) Persons of the Imperfect . . 244
148. (*e*) Imperative 246

SECTIONS PAGE

149. (*f*) Secondary Tenses—
(i) Assyrian Permansive . 246
(ii) Syriac Participial Tenses . 247
(iii) Introduction of time relation into tenses . . . 247
150. (*g*) The Participles 249
151. (*h*) The Infinitive 250
(iv) Verbs showing Phonetic Changes . . 250
152. (A) Verbs with first radical Semi-vowel 250
153. (B) Verbs with medial Semi-vowel . 254
154. (C) Verbs with final Semi-vowel . 257
Paradigms of verbs with radical Semi-vowels 258
155. (D) Verbs with initial Hamza . . 261
156. (E) Verbs with assimilating Radical . 262
Paradigm of Verb with assimilating Radical . . . 263
157. (F) Verbs mediæ geminatæ . . 263
Paradigm of verbs med. gem. . 266

XII. THE PARTICLES 268

158. (*a*) Prepositions 268
159. (*b*) Prepositions governing Clauses and Sentences 271
160. (*c*) Exclamatory Particles . . . 272
161. (*d*) Negative Particles 273
162. (*e*) Interrogative forms 274
163. (*f*) Conditional Particles 275

I

THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES

1 (i) The Semitic Group

The Semitic languages are a group of closely allied members spread over a clearly defined and limited area. We may regard these as consisting of five branches, Arabic, Abyssinian, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Assyrian. In the case of Abyssinian we include only certain languages spoken in Abyssinia which are obviously of Semitic kinship; but besides these there are various other dialects surviving from an older population which are different in character and obviously have an independent origin.

Already in the eleventh century A.D. the Rabbi Jehuda Hayyug (Abu Zakaria Yahya) began to apply the methods of the Arabic grammarians to Hebrew and thus unconsciously laid the foundation of the comparative philology of the Semitic languages. It was already known that a close relationship existed between Aramaic and Hebrew, but it was commonly supposed that Aramaic was a corruption from Hebrew. Theological prepossessions inclined the Jews to regard Hebrew as the parent, not only of Aramaic and Arabic, but of all other languages as well, and this opinion was generally adopted by Christian writers also. Even this view, however, admitted that a much closer relationship existed between Hebrew, Arabic, and Aramaic, than between Hebrew and any other language; and to this closely related group a fourth member, Ethiopic, was added in the seventeenth century, the name Ethiopic being used by Europeans to designate Ge‘ez, the ancient classical language of Abyssinia. The decipherment of the cuneiform inscriptions in the nineteenth century added Babylonian-Assyrian as a fifth member.

The study of comparative grammar in the nineteenth century brought about the general recognition that languages can be grouped in families whose members bear such definite relationship one to another that we are compelled to regard them as descended from a common stock. It was frequently assumed, quite erroneously, that these language families were conterminous with racial groups, and so the Semitic languages were treated as the speech of a Semitic race. It is now recognized that the transmission of language, racial descent, and culture drift are three distinct things. Race depends on physical descent; language and culture are transmitted by education, conquest, imitation and other means; they are learned either in childhood or maturity and not passed from parent to child as a matter of heredity.

The name Semitic as applied to a group of languages had already been used by Schloezer towards the end of the eighteenth century to denote a racial group which included the Arabs, Hebrews, Aramæans, and Abyssinians as descendants of Shem. This theory was based on the genealogy given in Genesis x, according to which both Aram and Arphaxad are made the children of Shem, and the further genealogy in Genesis xi, which makes Arphaxad the ancestor of Abraham from whom were descended the Israelites and the Arabs who claimed to be the children of Ishmael.

Closer scrutiny of these genealogies shows that the members are grouped simply according to political relations. Thus Elam and Lud are noted in Genesis x, 22, as brothers of Asshur and sons of Shem: but the Elamites, Lydians, and Assyrians are not kindred races, and they are so grouped simply because they were united under Assyrian rule at the time when the genealogies were composed. Strictly, we cannot justify the name of Semitic, but it is a term in common use and convenient. No doubt it would be preferable to denote language groups by symbols such as letters or figures, and to avoid names such as Semitic or Indo-European which imply racial or geographical ideas : but it is practically more convenient to accept a term in general use than to invent a new terminology.

Language is learned, not inherited, and it may be learned in childhood because it is the language of the family or the tribe, or it may be learned later in life from motives of convenience or necessity. Very often the language of a conquering race has been imposed on the conquered, sometimes, perhaps, as a matter of deliberate policy, more often because the conquered find it extremely inconvenient not to be able to understand or use the language of the rulers. Commercial intercourse also tends to spread particular languages, and sometimes religious propaganda does the same. Occasionally we find communities with two languages in use side by side, but most often one of the two attains the pre-eminence and the other is gradually squeezed out. Thus Arabic was introduced into Egypt by the Muslim conquest in the seventh century, it became the language of political and legal administration, and the common medium of intercourse with the rest of the Muslim world, and gradually the native Coptic language began to be discarded until in the sixteenth century it ceased to be spoken at all, and survives only as a liturgical language amongst the native Christians.

But when a language is thus introduced it begins to be seriously modified. Those who learn as adults, when the larynx has already been adapted to the sounds of another language, tend to alter the pronunciation and thus produce a dialect differing in its phonology; they find much that is irksome in new grammatical rules and forms, and so they tend to discard or confuse some of the forms. Thus a new dialect, or even a new language, is produced with points of resemblance to, and of difference from, the parent speech. The resemblances centre in the morphology, that is to say in the formatives by means of which the stems of nouns or verbs are formed from roots, and in the additions or modifications by means of which tenses, moods, numbers, cases, etc., are denoted. All these form a kind of framework which is transmitted unaltered save by the subtraction of forms which fall into disuse, but modified on perfectly regular lines by consistent phonetic changes. Substantially, therefore, relationship between two languages always means a common morphological basis, and a regular correspondence in phonology.

So far we have not mentioned vocabulary. To a large extent vocabulary is more concerned with culture drift than with the transmission of language. Increase of civilization tends to introduce new words, but these do not affect language directly, they are fitted into the existing framework and made to conform to it. It is even conceivable that nothing of the original vocabulary may be left, yet the language retains its own character unimpaired by preserving its own morphology and adapting the new vocabulary to it.

Although we are able to associate the five members, Arabic, Abyssinian, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Assyrian in one family to which we apply the conventional term Semitic, we are quite unable to draw up a genealogical table showing their relation one to another. In some respects Arabic is associated with Abyssinian against all others, in other respects Abyssinian and Assyrian are grouped against the other three, and sometimes Aramaic is isolated against the other four. Constantly the five members form new groups and re-form in other groupings, so that such a classification as " south Semitic " to denote Arabic and Abyssinian is no more than a geographical grouping which holds good for a moment but does not denote a closer relationship between these two than between any two out of the five. Still less are we able to designate any one of them as the parent language, or to construct a " proto-Semitic " as representing the mother speech. To some extent

Arabic seems to represent the purest Semitic because the least affected by alien elements, but frequently we find in Hebrew and Assyrian forms in full vigour which have disappeared from, but left their traces in, Arabic. Whilst we are able to group together these five members as forming a Semitic family, we have indications of relationships of varying closeness with other languages which are commonly classified as Hamitic. It seems, indeed, that the Semitic group is but one member of a much larger Hamitic family.

The Hamitic languages, as the term is commonly applied, fall into two main groups, the Berber or Libyan languages of North Africa, that is to say, the non-Arabic dialects of the area between the Nile valley and the Atlantic, and the East African group, comprising the Bishari, now found between the Sudan and the Red Sea, originally the language of Nubia, the older non-Semitic languages of Abyssinia, Somali, Galla, and probably the Hausa in the west, which seems to have passed westwards from Abyssinia or from the Horn of Africa by the waterways which run across the continent and have served as a route for culture drift as well. All these languages have a clearly defined common element, and the element common to them all appears also in Semitic.

Besides these we have the ancient Egyptian language which has recently been classified as Semitic. It shows the elements common to the Hamitic-Semitic group as well as some of the characteristics which are distinctive of Semitic, some even of those which appear in later dialects of Semitic. Probably we ought to regard it as a rapidly, perhaps a prematurely, developed dialect of Semitic. Closely akin to the five members of the Semitic group, it does not fit in exactly with all their distinctive features, so that it is better, perhaps, to class it as sub-Semitic. It is imperative to employ ancient Egyptian and the various Hamitic languages to illustrate and explain the forms found in Semitic.

The outspread of the Semitic languages has been from Arabia as their centre. This does not imply that Arabia was the home of the Semitic race, nor that the Semitic languages may not have been derived from a Hamitic parent in Africa or elsewhere, but simply that Arabia was the locus in which the Semitic languages specialized in their distinctive characteristics so that on passing out from Arabia they already showed the features which we have to regard as distinctively Semitic. Outside Arabia we are able to state, with more or less confidence, the period, and sometimes the exact date, at which a Semitic language was introduced; but no historical evidence enables us to form any theory as to when Semitic was first spoken in Arabia. History shows us successive migrations of Semites to Mesopotamia, Canaan, and Syria, Abyssinia, and North Africa: the spread of the Semitic languages is connected with these migrations, and the formation of different languages and dialects is due, mainly, to the fact that, outside Arabia, each Semitic language is spoken by a mixed population whose non-Semitic element has caused phonetic changes, modification and disuse of grammatical forms, and has introduced many additions to the vocabulary. In some cases Semitic languages are, or have been, spoken by an entirely non-Semitic people, as for example, Phoenician, a Semitic speech closely akin to Hebrew, Moabite, and other dialects which can be classed as Canaanite, but the Phoenicians or Philistines were the descendants of refugees from Crete, and by race in no way connected with the Semites.

Race and language are distinct, but transmission of language implies contact, and so is necessarily connected with race dispersal, by migration, conquest, commercial expansion, etc.

The early Semites seem to have been a branch of the Hamitic stock segregated in the highlands of south-western Asia, perhaps owing their isolation to the expansion of the

Mediterranean civilization and the civilization of Mesopotamia which, operating from different points, tended to constrict them within this area. At one time, as Prince Caetani de Teano shows, Arabia was fertile and capable of supporting an abundant and varied life, but that was at a remote geological age long anterior to any probable date of Semitic migration. Those movements seem to have been caused by the tempting vicinity of cultivated land occupied by a settled population both in the Euphrates valley and in that of the Nile, and to a less degree by the pastures of Canaan which was, indeed, a "land flowing with milk and honey" when contrasted with the barren highlands of Arabia. The earlier Semites were nomad survivors of the neolithic age, hunters and shepherds, who had never learned the arts of husbandry. From the earliest dawn of history to the present day these nomads or Bedwin have made incursions into, and plundered, any neighbouring agricultural territory; sometimes the invaders have settled down and learned agriculture and adopted a settled life, and sometimes a strong State, Egypt, Persia, Rome, or another, was able for a time to place a barrier which restrained these incursions. Undoubtedly, desiccation, or rather increased saline deposit, has progressed in Arabia, but the Bedwin are not the descendants of cultivators, squeezed out by the growing inability of Arabia to support them, so much as survivals of an earlier social stratum.

2 (ii) Babylonia and Assyria

The earliest recorded movements of the Semites were into Mesopotamia, where they entered in a series of migrations extending from about 4000 to 2000 B.C. Mesopotamia was already inhabited by Sumerians who had attained a high degree of civilization of the type which may be described as "garden culture", the intensive cultivation by hand of ground immediately connected with a river or irrigating canal.

This produced the peculiar conditions noted by Bevan (*House of Seleucus*, i, 21–2) as characteristic of the civilization of western Asia: culture was confined to the river valleys and the lower slopes of the hills; the inhabitants of the deserts, which are mostly elevated plateaux, were practically untouched by it and remained, indeed, to a large extent they still remain, very much as they had been in prehistoric times. A Babylonian Empire did not mean a large territory which could be marked out on the map, but only the low-lying watered valleys within that territory: in the desert highlands the tribes might sometimes be visited by punitive expeditions, but for the most part they lived their own independent life, ignorant of any government other than that of their tribal chiefs, and careless of the culture which flourished in the river valleys. From time to time they poured down into the cultivated land as marauders, and sometimes these who came to plunder remained to learn the advantages of culture and settled life. No doubt the general course of events was very similar to that which occurred at the time of the Arab conquest of Egypt. It has generally happened that the results are exactly opposite in their bearing on culture and on language: the ruder conquerors imposed their own language on the conquered, this language being in return deeply affected by the speech of those who thus had to learn it as a foreign tongue, and they learned the culture of their subjects which was somewhat modified thereby, and so developed distinctive though minor peculiarities. Some settlements in Babylonia were Semitic from their foundation, others show a population mixed in varying proportions, but gradually the Semitic language prevailed throughout the whole territory. Babylon itself seems to have become entirely Semitic-speaking about 2400 B.C., but Nippur remained Sumerian-speaking much later, and Sumerian long continued to be the official language of Arad-Sin, Erech, and Rim-Sin. The ancient Sumerian literature was alive down to about the year 2000. The bulk of the religious formularies, in which Sumerian and Semitic appear together, seems to have been produced between 2900 and 2470 B.C., and we may regard this as the period during which Sumerian was passing out of use as a spoken language.

Gradually the course of political events brought about the amalgamation of the various States in Mesopotamia and produced the Semitic Empire of Babylon. At a later date this was supplanted by the purely Semitic kingdom of Assyria. But this latter had a briefer history and passed into decline to be replaced by a revived Babylon. In both these two States the language was Semitic, but in Babylon it was more influenced by the Sumerian element than was the case in the north. The study of the Sumerian language in Europe is of comparatively recent date, and it seems probable that the future will see much more drawn from it to illustrate the phonology as well as the vocabulary of Babylonian-Assyrian. The earliest material we possess of the Semitic speech of Babylonia appears in the letters and legal code of Ḫammurabi (circ. 1500), and in the Semitic versions attached to the Sumerian religious literature, this latter as yet little worked, and the latest material is approximately of the fourth century B.C.

3 (iii) Canaan

After the earlier Semitic colonies were formed in Mesopotamia we find that these settled and civilized Semites were constantly vexed by incursions of their nomadic kinsmen who preferred brigandage to agriculture. These nomads were called Arimi or Aḫlame in the Babylonian-Assyrian documents, and are generally described as invading from the west. Geographically, indeed, the northern desert of Arabia passes on without break to Syria, and it is well to remember that this desert highland which lies east of Palestine and Syria is a unity with Nejd in northern Arabia. From this high ground, as from a watershed, the Semites flowed down into Mesopotamia on the east, and Canaan on the west. But whilst there were at an early date civilized, or partly civilized, inhabitants of Canaan, these were neither so advanced in culture nor so numerous, it would appear, as the Sumerians in Mesopotamia: indeed, the culture seems to have been chiefly along the sea coast and so comparatively remote from the desert highlands. No doubt, also, in some cases as in that of Terah and Abraham (Genesis xi, 29–31), Semites who had settled in Mesopotamia but disliked the political conditions resulting from the establishment of the Babylonian Empire, preferred to migrate to Canaan where they were able to continue the tribal life and free pastoral occupations to which they had been attached.

The earliest material illustrating the Semitic languages of Canaan appears in the *Amarna Letters* (fifteenth century B.C.), which were reports sent to Egypt at a time when Canaan was an Egyptian province, and which contain information about the language for the guidance of Egyptian officials. The dialect in these letters was the parent of the *Phoenician* (Cooke, NSI, xix). The later form of Phoenician is known to us from inscriptions (circ. 600 B.C., etc.) and, in its general character, was very like, though not identical with Hebrew. In some respects it seems to have approached Aramaic, but this appears to have been the case also with vernacular Hebrew. Like Hebrew, also, it tended to approach more closely to Aramaic at the time when this latter was a kind of lingua franca of all western Asia, and in its latest stages outside observers inclined to identify the two (thus Cyril *in Isa.* iv, 293, and Theodoret, *Quaes.* 19, in Jud.).

Whilst Phoenician proper was the language of Asiatic Phoenicia the Phoenician colonies around the Mediterranean developed a vernacular which approached more and more to

Aramaic and suffered a general decay of grammatical forms. This is known to us as *neo-Punic* and appears in inscriptions, in a transcription in Plautus, *Poenulus*, v, 1, and in scattered words cited by later Greek and Latin writers and by the Church Fathers.

The most important of all the languages of Canaan was *Hebrew*, the language of the Semitic settlers in Canaan proper as modified by the speech of the earlier non-Semitic inhabitants and, as we read it, vocalized by the Masoretes at a date long subsequent to its disuse as a spoken dialect. We are not here called upon to discuss the dates of the materials contained in the Old Testament, which is a matter of literary criticism rather than of philology. The redaction of the Law is possibly not earlier than the eighth century B.C., but it contains much earlier material, and purely classical Hebrew continued to be written down to the time of Jeremiah (circ. 600 B.C.). In the pre-Jeremian text there are differences of literary style but practical uniformity of language, save that evidences occur of a northern dialect differing from that of the south. After the time of Jeremiah Hebrew begins to be affected by Aramaic, but some of the finest material both from the literary standpoint and from that of grammatical purity is found amongst that written during the exile. The exiles in Babylon seem to have developed the classical speech as a literary idiom, whilst the vernacular of the people left in Judah tended more towards Aramaic until the literary speech was no longer intelligible to them (cf. Neh. viii, 8): of course we cannot say which deviated most from the ancient speech, the literary forms elaborated in Babylonia, or the vernacular of the fellahin left in Palestine. In later Hebrew we find traces of Aramaic influence and loan words introduced from Persian, Greek, and Latin.

After the Old Testament the next important Hebrew document is the Mishna, compiled at Tiberias in the course of the second century A.D., but incorporating older elements. Its language is called ל' חכמים "the speech of the learned", by R. Johanan, and represents a later stage of the literary idiom. It shows marked differences from the Old Testament, in language tending towards Arabic dialect, and in orthography approaching Aramaic. Time relations are marked in the tenses, compound tenses and analytical forms are introduced, a double passive (Nif'al reflexive) appears, and the vocabulary shows an increasing importation of loan words from Aramaic, Greek, and Latin. In all this, however, it must be noted the spoken language as it appears in Amos and the earlier prophets, in the song of Deborah, and in the prophecy of Balaam, shows more inclination towards Aramaic characteristics than is the case with the literary form. On the other hand the inscription of Siloam (circ. 700 B.C.) endorses the classical speech.

The Mishna represents the speech of the learned, a language no longer spoken by the people who, after the destruction of the Temple and the disintegration of Jewish life, had adopted Aramaic, the common medium of intercourse throughout western Asia, and this Jewish Aramaic as used in the Babylonian Talmud was the common speech of the Jewish community until it was replaced by Arabic in the tenth century A.D. The use of Arabic had been growing since the Arab conquest in the eighth century, and almost simultaneously with its final triumph in Palestine there was a revival of classical Hebrew as a written language amongst the Jews of Spain and North Africa. This revival produced a large output of homiletical literature, but its main importance to us lies in the impetus it gave to grammatical studies. Nevertheless the language it used was a conscious imitation of the classical Hebrew; there was no continuity of oral tradition in the use of Hebrew as a living language.

Closely akin to Hebrew was the *Moabite* language which is known to us only from the inscription of the Meša stele (circ. 900 B.C.). In it we find a reflexive of the primary theme (as Arabic conj. viii), which is lost in Hebrew.

4 (iv) Aramaic

We give the name of Aramaic to the languages of the Semitic invaders of Palestine and Syria who advanced further north and settled in the Aram or "highlands": those who, for the most part, were pre-Israelite immigrants. The earliest extant material in Aramaic is the Zinjirli and Nerab inscriptions found near Damascus and dating from about the sixth century B.C. In Old Testament times Aramaic was the northern neighbour of Hebrew, but after the decline of Phoenicia, when Carchemish became the centre of the trade of western Asia, Aramaic gradually became the common language of political and commercial life throughout all western Asia and Egypt (cf. Xenophon, *Cyropaed.*, 7, v, 31), and thus used as a lingua franca passed through a rapid decay.

The earliest material illustrating Aramaic after it had become a common medium of international intercourse appears in the papyri discovered in Egypt, mainly due to Jewish settlers there during the period following the Babylonian conquest of Judea, and a little later in the book of Ezra (chaps. iv, 8–6 and vii, 12–26). Considerably later is the book of Daniel (ii. 4b–vii. 28). The Aramaic passages of Ezra and Daniel present what is commonly known as *Biblical Aramaic*, and this, in the main, agrees with the dialect used in the papyri.

Next in date are the *Palmyrene* inscriptions (third century B.C. to first century A.D.), and then the *Nabataean* (first century B.C., etc.), but these latter, though written in Aramaic, are composed by Arabs who spoke their own language and used Aramaic only in inscriptions.

In the time of Christ the language of Galilee and of Palestine, generally, was Aramaic, Hebrew remaining the property of the learned. When the actual words of Christ are quoted in the Gospels they approximate to Aramaic (cf. St. Mark vii, 34: v, 41), and this applies also to the citation of terms in common use such as *Bethesda* (St. John v, 2) and *Gabbatha* (id. xix, 13). After the destruction of the Temple and dispersal of the Jews, Aramaic entirely replaced Hebrew in Palestine and amongst the Jews in neighbouring lands until replaced by Arabic in the tenth century A.D. Of this Jewish Aramaic the earliest material survives in the *Onqelos Targum* (fourth century A.D.) and the *Jerusalem Targum* (sixth century A.D.), this latter in an artificial language in which eastern and western dialects are mingled. Later material exists in the *Jerusalem Talmud* (T.J.), i.e. the Tiberian commentary (Gemara) on the Mishna representing the western or Galilæan dialect, and the *Babylonian Talmud* (T.B.) representing the eastern type.

It is not so easy to define the exact position of *Samaritan*. It may be that it is a form of Aramaic which passed southwards during the time of the exile, or it may represent the vernacular speech of Israel corrupted by Aramaic elements, but from its general character it is usually classed as one of the Aramaic group. It must be remembered that Hebrew and Aramaic are not so much different languages as dialects of one parent speech, and it is not always easy to decide what dialectal peculiarities justify inclusion in one group or the other (cf. 89). Samaritan is known to us in a version of the Hexateuch which shows the influence of the Onqelos Targum and has been retouched in Muslim times, and in some poetry of later date.

Eastern social groups depend very much more on religious than on political factors, and sectarian divisions tend to develop or accentuate differences of dialect by the artificial barrier which restricts intercourse to members of the same religious community. Such is very clearly the case with *Syriac* or Christian Aramaic. The condemnation of Nestorius and his followers at the council of Ephesus in A.D. 431 made a definite separation between the eastern Christians who followed Nestorius and their co-religionists of the west. The council of Chalcedon a few years later (A.D. 448), on the other hand, excommunicated the Jacobites who represented the element most opposed to Nestorius, leaving only a minority of Syrians, mostly in the south, in communion with the State church of the Byzantine Empire. Amongst these latter developed what is known as *Palestinian Syriac* of which some few documents still survive, a Gospel version in a Vatican MS., the so-called "liturgy of the Nile", and a small amount of material discovered in Sinai, in Damascus, and in Egypt. As a spoken language Palestinian Syriac ceased at the Arab conquest but it remained in liturgical use to a much later date.

The literary history of Syriac begins about the second century A.D., and shows a later form of Aramaic with a vocabulary very strongly influenced by Greek. After the separation between the Jacobites and the Nestorians in the west and east respectively, we find a marked difference in dialect between the material produced in one community and that of the other, a difference not, of course, caused by the schism but accentuated by the cessation of intercourse brought about by the division, and by the fact that the Nestorians, persecuted in the Roman Empire, were welcomed in the Parthian and Persian dominions where they had an independent career, and spread eastwards by missionary enterprise well into central Asia. In the seventh century came the Arab conquest and the introduction of Arabic, until in the thirteenth century West Syriac ceased to be any longer a spoken language save in a few isolated parts. It survives now only in Ma'lula, Bukh'a, and 'Ain et-Tîneh in the Anti-Lebanon about J.Dinha, N.E. of Damascus.[1] East Syriac had a more prosperous career and is still used in various village communities in the Euphrates valley, at Tur Abdin, Urmi, and amongst the fellahin around Mosul. These neo-Syriac-speaking groups are thus classified by McLean: (1) *North*, the plain of Salamis in Persia, Qadsanis, Gawar, and Gilu; (2) the *Ashiret* group in central Kurdistan, upper Tiari, Tkhuma, etc., and Ashita in lower Tiari, Marbishu, and Shamsdin; (3) *South*, Alqosh (near Mosul), Bohtan, and Zaklu (about 60 miles from Mosul).

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[1] Ma'lula and Bukh'a are Christian villages. 'Ain et-Tîneh became Muslim in 1860, the change being made, it is locally reported, to save the famous pistachio grove threatened with destruction by the Muslims.

The dialect known as *Mandaean* was connected with a Gnostic sect in lower Mesopotamia isolated by its religious character from Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, and of great value not only because of a fairly abundant literary material, but also because its isolation protected it from Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic influences, and so it displays an independent development of Eastern Aramaic. In it we see the further evolution of tendencies already noticeable in older Aramaic.

5 (v) Arabic

As we have already noted, Arabia was the centre of distribution of the Semitic languages and, in all probability, their area of specialization. But Arabia itself was not untouched by outside influences; along the east and south the Minæan civilization showed the influence of Mesopotamia, and at a later date Greek culture filtered down through intercourse with Syria. Yet the fact remains that the speech of Arabia was less affected by alien influences than any other of the Semitic languages.

Arabic is divided into two branches, north Arabic, i.e. what is known as classical Arabic and its derived dialects, and south Arabic or Himyaritic and its derived dialects. Classical Arabic denotes the Arabic employed as a literary medium by Arabic writers from the time of the pre-Islamic poets to that of Shawki Bey and Hafiz Ibrahim in our own day. Its basal literary form was definitely laid down by the composition of the Qur'ān which is accepted not only as a divine revelation, but as a perfect model of grammar and composition. The Qur'ān was edited soon after the Prophet's death, but its vocalization, at first dependent on oral tradition, was not marked in the written text until some sixty-five years later when Islam was already taking a cosmopolitan character, and Arabic had become the language of government and public life in Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt. So rapidly had Arabic been corrupted where it was spoken by those who had learned it as a foreign language, that the Qur'ān was unintelligible to the foreign converts who now formed the majority of the Muslim community, and they were unable to read aloud the written text correctly. The insertion of vowel points and other orthographical signs was primarily intended to secure the correct reading of the sacred text. Although the Qur'ān was published in the current speech of the Hijaz, and its orthography showed the peculiarities of that speech (cf. 10), the punctators did not have recourse to the Hijaz dialect but to the older and purer speech of the nomadic Arabs of the Nejd hinterland. And they were right in taking this standard, for it was the dialect least affected by alien influences. Modern philology has shown a marked distaste for "literary" languages, which are generally regarded as artificial. Truly, much valuable material is to be found in the Arabic dialects, but the classical forms cannot be lightly disregarded. The early grammarians took a correct attitude and formed their standard from the purest, because the most isolated, dialect, and have left us some important notes of dialectal differences as they then existed. Of necessity classical Arabic must be the starting point for Semitic philology. It certainly does not represent proto-Semitic, for it evidently has passed through changes; still it is free from the more violent alterations which have taken place in Assyrian and Hebrew because of its more isolated position which preserved it from contamination by non-Semitic languages, and because it represents the speech of those amongst whom there were no aliens who had learned Semitic as a foreign language.

Classical Arabic is the literary form of the northern dialects of Arabia in the seventh century A.D., the dialects which, for the most part, were the parents of the different forms of vernacular Arabic in the countries where that language has been introduced by the spread of Islam. This northern Arabic must be regarded as existing in Arabia in two forms, not greatly different the one from the other, and neither much affected by any non-Semitic language.

(1) The dialect of the Hijaz (i.e. " barrier "), the western side of Arabia along the coast of the Red Sea. Here was the cradle of Islam, and here are the two holy cities of Mecca and Medina. It is the Hijazi dialect which is written in the Qur'ān and in the compositions of the pre-Islamic poets. But the Arabs of the Hijaz were partly settled as town dwellers in the time of the Prophet and had commercial intercourse with foreigners, especially Syrians and Abyssinians. The Qur'ān itself shows the use of foreign words introduced in the course of trade and by the influence of Græco-Syrian civilization. The Hijaz was at the time a partly settled and cultured district. On the eve of the Prophet's mission there were both Christian and Jewish Arab kingdoms. The Arabs were spreading northwards as conquerors and beginning to assimilate Græco-Syrian culture, and these conditions continued under the Umayyad Khalifas of Damascus. The influence of Syria appears in its extreme form in Nabatæan conditions where Arabic was the spoken language, but Aramaic was used in writing. Hijazi Arabic was not absolutely pure even in the days of the Prophet.

(2) The dialect of Nejd, the speech of the desert tribes of the hinterland, was not appreciably, if at all, affected by foreign

influence and so it was purer than that of the Hijaz. It was this dialect which the grammarians took as the standard of good Arabic, and to this they endeavoured to make the Qur'ān conform, not without occasional violence to the dialectal peculiarities of the text. They studied the Nejd dialect, and some of the greatest of them qualified themselves by a sojourn amongst the Bedwin of the desert. Various differences of dialect are recorded as existing amongst the desert tribes, the B. Tamin, B. Oqeyl, Qays, etc., and these peculiarities are all recognized as equally of classical standard.

From this speech of Nejd and Hijaz Arabic was carried in all directions by the spread of Islam, its form varying according to the proportion of Arabic to non-Arabic population in the invaded areas. In Upper Egypt, for example, the people did not become entirely Arabic-speaking until the sixteenth century A.D., although the land was conquered by the Arabs some nine hundred years earlier, and the Arabic which made this slow progress against another language was necessarily much modified in the process. In every case the modifications concern phonology, morphology, and syntax. In the last two the change was everywhere the same, namely, the discarding of case endings and of the more difficult syntactical constructions, and a general relaxation of the rules of grammar, whilst new methods of forming a tense system as well as the development of a time sense in tenses rather than the earlier *aktionsart* is a regular phenomenon. It is worth noting that when, some centuries before the spread of Islam, Aramaic had become for a time the lingua franca of Western Asia, it passed through precisely similar changes. Indeed, this grammatical decay is the natural result of the general use of a language in communities whose mother tongue it is not. Changes in phonology and vocabulary are rather different: to some extent phonetic changes result in the confusion of like sounds, but there is also the introduction of alien sounds and of new words in vocabulary.

The chief dialects with which we have to deal are :—

(3) The dialect of *'Iraq* or Mesopotamia. This is the form of speech most often cited by the grammarians of Kufa as illustrating the incorrect pronunciation of those who had learned Arabic as a foreign language. But the importance given to this dialect was largely due to the fact that the grammarians were living in the locality where it was the common use of the lower classes. Most of the peculiarities of this dialect, as noted by the early grammarians, are still characteristic of the vernacular 'Iraq, but in vocabulary there has been an increasing corruption due to the influx of Persian, Turkish, and more recently of French and Urdu. The 'Iraq dialect is spoken throughout the whole Tigris-Euphrates valley, but certain peculiarities exist in the town dialects of Bagdad, Mosul, and of Mardin.

(4) The dialect of *Syria* and *Palestine* shows a number of local peculiarities, in many respects approaching the 'Iraq dialect, which is more particularly true of the Syrian fellahin speech. Marked local peculiarities exist in the Hauran, Petræa, and amongst the Druses of the Lebanon, as well as in the town speech of Damascus, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem.

(5) The dialect of *Egypt*. In this we distinguish the following general types : (1) the dialect of Lower Egypt, (2) that of Upper Egypt south of Minia, (3) that of the Egyptian Bedwin between the settled parts and the eastern frontier, about Salḥiya, etc., and the moving population scattered amongst the inhabitants of the Delta, and (4) the dialect of Sinai which seems to be a mingling of Syrian and Egyptian with some Hijazi influences. Settlements along the Canal from Port Said to Suez are either of late date or have been greatly affected by recent arrivals and do not seem to present any distinctive dialect.

(6) The dialects of *North Africa* show, in places, the influence of Berber or Libyan speech and diverge very markedly from the vernacular of Syria and Egypt. In some respects, however, the peculiarities seem to be simply the survival of archaic forms obsolete elsewhere. The leading types are :—

(*a*) The dialect of Tripoli.
(*b*) Tunisian.
(*c*) Algerian—(1) Tlemsen.
  (2) Ulad Brahin in the department of Oran.
  (3) ‘Ain Maḍi in south Algeria.
(*d*) The dialect of Morocco or Maghrebi.
(*e*) The Moorish Arabic of Spain, now extinct but known to us from the fifteenth century grammar of Pedro.

(7) The Maltese, which is essentially allied to the North African group but appears to contain Syrian influences and has a vocabulary which is largely Italian. It is in the peculiar position of being the only Arabic dialect usually written in Roman characters.

All these dialects of Arabic mentioned so far have their origin in the northern branch of the parent language, and with them must be associated certain dialects which have now spread southwards but are also of northern origin ; these are :

(8) The dialect of *Hadramaut* in south-western Arabia east of Aden.

(9) The dialect of Oman, a district colonized by Qatani tribes from Yemen. But these, though dwelling in the south, were not of southern origin, and brought down with them a northern dialect.

Southern Arabic centres in the language of the Himyari or Ὁμηρῖται who were anciently the ruling race in Arabia. In the south of Arabia there was a Minæan kingdom which is supposed to have commenced about 1250 B.C., and this was succeeded by a Sabæan kingdom in the eighth century B.C., though it seems likely that the two were contemporary for some long period. Inscriptions exist which date from the third–fourth century B.C. Minæan and Sabæan are known to us only from the inscriptions, but those southern dialects are represented to-day by the dialect of *Mehri*, in the district between Hadramaut and Oman, although possibly somewhat corrupted by African influences, especially by that of the Somali. El-Feiyumi in the Misbah (article Mahar) says that " the language of the people of Mareh, which is a district of Oman, is quick and scarcely or not at all intelligible, and is of the ancient Himyari ". Closely akin to the dialect of Mehri is that of *Soqotra*.

6 (vi) Abyssinian

The entry of Semitic colonists into Abyssinia seems to have commenced about the fourth century B.C. In 115 B.C. a Sabæan settlement was formed there, and by this means, it would appear, a culture drift from Mesopotamia through south Arabia passed into Abyssinia. The line of intercourse does not seem to have been finally broken until the rise of Islam in the seventh century A.D. With it, in some way, must be connected the philological affinities between Assyrian and Abyssinian, although it does not suffice to account for them altogether, and they remain an unsolved problem.

The Semitic colonists in Abyssinia settled inland in the best and most fertile country, leaving the conquered earlier inhabitants in the desert between them and the sea and in the more barren highlands. About the fourth century A.D. the Abyssinians became Christians under the influence of Coptic missionaries, and thus many Coptic and Greek words were introduced into their language. The classical Semitic of Abyssinia became a literary language by the versions of the Scriptures made in it, and this was followed by a considerable literary output, partly translations from the Greek and partly original matter based on Greek models. This language is known as *Ge'ez* or *Ethiopic.* It ceased to be a spoken tongue in the fourteenth century A.D., but is still retained as the liturgical language of the Abyssinian Church.

Although Ge'ez is a dead language, it has living descendants in *Tigriña* which is spoken in northern Abyssinia, but is much influenced by the dominant Amharic, and *Tigré* which is used in the Italian colony of Erythrea and in the island of Dahlak, and which has preserved its original features more faithfully by reason of its more isolated position.

Amharic is the language most commonly used in Abyssinia. It was the language of the ruling dynasty of the period A.D. 1270–1855, and has affected every other spoken dialect. It is not derived from Ge'ez but from a sister language. It is more affected by Arabic and Galla and less by Greek and Coptic. Its literature commences about the fifteenth century A.D.

II

THE CONSONANT SOUNDS

I The Function of a Consonant

7 (a) **The Consonant in a syllable**

According to the Arabic grammarians a sentence (كلام) is an intelligible group (مركب مفيد) of words after which silence seems good, i.e. which gives a complete sense that naturally terminates with a stop or pause. From this point of view of grammar, properly so called, the constituent elements in the sentence are words disposed to express subject, object, predicate, etc.: from the point of view of morphology each word contains a root, and in most cases also a formative element, as well as inflections, prefixes, suffixes, etc. Phonology regards the same sentence as its subject matter, but treats it as a series of syllables which is continuous from the point at which the sentence begins after a greater or lesser interval of silence, until the point at which speech again ceases at a stop. Phonetically, we begin with the idea of a sentence because it is necessarily preceded and followed by silence: but the phonetic unity may be less than a sentence, for a pause may be made not only where "silence seems good", i.e. when the sense is complete, but also for the purpose of emphasizing a word, or by a natural tendency after each item enumerated in a series. In any case the speech which lies between two intervals of silence forms a phonetic unity, and this most commonly is a sentence. Only very seldom is the syllable equivalent to a word: most words contain two or more syllables, and very often a syllable lies partly in one word and partly in another, and it is only with a monosyllabic word that a syllable alone can form a sentence. Yet phonology cannot ignore the existence of words because each word may furnish an accented syllable, and these accented syllables appear as a series of nuclei which in many cases affect the syllabic constitution. Thus, the phonetic unit is the syllable, but the syllable considered as a part of continuous speech lying between two intervals of silence.

It is possible for a single syllable to form a complete phonetic group which may or may not be a sentence, as the imperative خُذْ "take!", a command which gives a complete sense and forms a true sentence, or the name of the letter لَامْ which is a complete phonetic group but not a sentence, though it is natural to make a short pause after the name of each letter as always in the enumeration of items in a catalogue. More often the phonetic group will be a sentence containing a series of syllables.

Phonology, therefore, has to consider the formation of the syllable which is its unit, and then the group collected about one accented syllable, usually a word, but sometimes two words as in the Hebrew מַלְכַּת שְׁבָא *mal-kath-shĕ-bā* "queen of Sheba", the word in the construct (מלכת) being without accent, and thirdly the longer group which forms consecutive speech between intervals of silence.

In all human speech the syllable necessarily contains a vowel. In the Semitic languages where the syllabic order is very clearly defined it cannot contain more than one vowel, although the diphthongs *ai*, *au* may be allowed as single vowel sounds, and also it can happen that a long vowel sound, followed by a consonant whose organ of utterance is far divergent from that of the vowel, shows a modification of timbre in its closing tone so that *rūḫ* becomes *rūăḫ*, the *ă* being a deflection of the *ū* sound as the vocal organs form themselves to the utterance of *ḫ*. Also, the syllable must begin with a consonant, which may be in the same word as the vowel, or may be the final consonant of a preceding word: if the vowel, the essential element of the syllable, follows after silence, or after a vowel, a laryngal effort known as Hamza has to be made in commencing the vowel, and this effort is classed as a consonant. It is, indeed, impossible in any language to commence a vowel sound after silence without some such effort as is represented by the Greek *spiritus lenis*, but it must be admitted that the vocal organs are used differently in different communities, which is, indeed, the principal cause of variation in dialect, and Semitic speech employs the larynx and soft palate much more than is the case in the Indo-European languages; consequently the *spiritus lenis* is rendered much more emphatic by being thrown further back into the throat. But in the speech of those who have learned Arabic as a foreign language, or who have received it from those who have so learned it, the Hamza is much weaker, and thus أَب is sounded *áb* in Morocco; the initial effort has not disappeared, but it is much less distinct than in purer Arabic. So in Hebrew **wa*- "and" before such words as מֶלֶךְ is sounded as *ū*-, that is to say it has become a vowel sound with a laryngal effort so weak as to be practically inaudible.

The general theory, however, remains that a syllable must commence with a consonant, and then follows a vowel. From this it is evident that a syllable cannot commence with two consonants. A word may commence with two consonants, for if the preceding word ends in a vowel it will allow the first of these two consonants to enter as closure into the syllable to which it belongs, but if the word stands after silence or after a consonant it will be necessary for the first consonant to be vocalized by an inserted or prosthetic vowel, and if by a prosthetic another consonant will have to be prefixed to commence the syllable. Every syllable must contain two elements, (1) an initial consonant, and (2) a following vowel, which may be long, or short, or a half-vowel (ultra short), the latter including the vocalized sonant, but only in speech which has been strongly influenced by non-Semitic languages : possibly even the half-vowel as it appears in Hebrew and Aramaic shows alien influence.

8 (b) **Transcription**

The following table shows the method followed in the following pages in transcription with (in brackets) some other transcriptions in common use :—

	Arabic	Hebrew and Aramaic	Abyssinian
ʾ	ء	א	አ
h	ه	ה	ሀ
ḥ	ح	ח	ሐ
ḫ (*kh*)	خ	ח	ኀ
ʿ	ع	ע	ዐ
ġ (*gh*)	غ	ע	ዐ
q	ق	ק	ቀ
g, *ǧ*, *j*	ج	ג	ገ
k	ك	ך	ከ

	Arabic	Hebrew and Aramaic	Abyssinian
t	ت	ת	ተ
θ (*th*)	ث	—	ተ
d	د	ד	ደ
đ (*dh*)	ذ	—	ደ
ṭ	ط	ט	ጠ
ẓ	ط	ט	ጠ
ṣ	ص	ץ	ጸ
ḍ	ض	ץ	ፀ
s	س	ס	ሰ
ś	س	שׂ	ሰ
sh	ش	שׁ	ሠ
z	ز	ז	ዘ
f (*ph*)	ف	ףֿ	ፈ
p	ف	ף	ፐ
p̣	ف	ף	ጰ
b	ب	ב	በ

	Arabic	Hebrew and Aramaic	Abyssinian
m	م	ם	መ
n	ن	ן	ነ
l	ل	ל	ለ
r	ر	ר	ረ
w (*u̯*)	و	ו	ወ
y (*i̯*)	ي	י	የ

It is not necessary to give different scripts, and thus it will be needless to add the various forms of the letters used in Syriac, etc. It must be noted that *b*, *g*, *d*, *k*, *p*, *t*, are aspirated as *bh*, *gh*, *dh*, *kh*, *ph*, *th*, in Hebrew and Aramaic by the influence of a preceding vowel (cf. 37); these latter are not separate consonants but merely modifications of the consonant sound due to the influence of the vowel. The Abyssinian script shows a syllabary; from this the forms above represent the consonant with the short vowel -*a* following, thus ሀ = *ha*, etc.

9 (c) Classification of the letters

The most important classification of these consonants is based on the " organ of utterance ", thus :—

(i) *Laryngals*, uttered in the throat, ' *h*, *ḥ*, *ḫ*, ʿ.
(ii) Velars, in the soft palate, *ġ*, *q*.
(iii) Palatals, with the hard palate, *k*, *g*.
(iv) Dentals, with outlet against the teeth, *t*, *t͟h*, *d*, *d͟h*, *ṭ*, *ḍ*.
(v) Sibilants, the same but with a curving of the tongue in the rear of the outlet, *s*, *ś*, *š*, *ṣ*, *z*, *ẓ*.

(vi) Labials, with the lips, *p*, *f*, *b*.
(vii) Sonants, *m*, *n*, *l*, *r*.
(viii) Semi-vowels, *w*, *y*.

Another important division is that which classifies the first six groups as (i) voiced or soft, being those whose utterance is accompanied with a musical vibration of the vocal chords as in *d*, *b*, *z*, etc., and (ii) the voiceless or hard, from which this musical vibration is absent, as in *t*, *p*, *s*, which are the voiceless correspondents of *d*, *b*, *z*.

Certain letters are known as "emphatic", being distinguished from others by a more emphatic utterance or laryngal effort, thus *ḥ* is emphatic of *h*, *g* of *k*, *ṭ* of *t*. These emphatic consonants are *ḥ*, ʿ, *ġ*, *q*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, *ḍ*, *ṣ*, and in Abyssinian *p̣* as well as a *p̣* similarly emphasized in Aramaic but not distinguished by any peculiar letter: both these latter are non-Semitic in origin.

There are other sounds, *ž*, *č*, *ts*, etc., but these are either derivative, as *ž* for *š* by assimilation to a voiced consonant following in contact, or peculiarities of certain dialects in which the consonant is influenced by a neighbouring vowel (cf. 38), or else due to non-Semitic influence as Amharic *jh* for the combination of *d* and *t*.

10 (d) The Consonant Sounds in detail

(i) *Laryngal Hamza*

Hamza (همزة "compression" of the throat) is the glottal catch or voiceless (stimmlos) "fester Einsatz" of Sievers (*Phonetik*, 385), the laryngal effort necessarily made in commencing a vowel sound after pause, a sound which may be made also at the beginning of a medial syllable, or as closure, but which does not necessarily occur in continuous speech. The Arab grammarians, indeed, state that in the language of foreigners it is sounded only after pause. It resembles the *spiritus lenis* of Greek, but is more distinct, because Arabic is what we would call a more guttural language, and because in Semitic each syllable is more distinctly defined than in the case in the Indo-European languages. In general character it corresponds with the consonant *h*, but is not aspirated. This sound, quite easy and natural after pause, presents some difficulty when following a consonant, and considerable difficulty when acting as the closure of a syllable, and it is in this last position that we usually find it falling into disuse in dialect and later speech.

The Arabic grammarians incorrectly classed Hamza as "voiced" (مجهور) or "soft", because they did not separate its sound from that of the following vowel "and attributed the voice element of the vowel to the consonant itself. It was not before the invention of the laryngoscope and the splendid experiments of Czermak, that these sounds were physiologically elucidated" (Vollers, in *ix Congr. of Orientalists*, Lond., 1893, ii, 137–8).

Representation

In Hebrew and Aramaic this consonant is represented by א, but in many cases this letter has lost its consonant value in the text of the O.T. as it appears with the Masoretic pointing, and in later Hebrew as well as in Aramaic it is sometimes used as a vowel sign, e.g. in קאם (Hos. x, 14) for קָם. In carefully written Hebrew MSS. a consonant 'Alef is marked by a point placed above, but this is very rarely inserted in printed copies of the Hebrew Bible, though we usually find it marked in Genesis xliii, 26; Lev. xxiii, 17; Ezra viii, 18. In neo-Punic and Mandæan א has become a vowel sign.

The alphabet passed to the southern Semites early enough for א to retain its consonantal value, and it so appears in the

Minæan and Sabæan inscriptions and in the derived alphabet of Abyssinia (አ). But the Arabic alphabet was of later origin, independently derived from the Aramaic, and so 'Alif came to be employed by the early Arabic writers as a symbol for long *ā*, and was thus used in the first editions of the Qur'ān. These earlier Qur'āns were written according to the dialect of the Hijaz which was somewhat affected by foreign influences due to the trade route which passed down western Arabia from Syria and Egypt, and showed such influences by a tendency to discard Hamza as the closure of a short syllable, giving a compensatory lengthening to the preceding short vowel so that -*ă'* became -*ā*, and *ĭ'*, *ŭ'* became *ī*, *ū*. As 'Alif was employed to mark long *ā*, and *w*, *y* were used for long *ū* and *ī*, these three letters often appeared where there ought to have been Hamza with a short vowel before it, according to the earlier and uncontaminated pronunciation. When the Khalifa 'Ali ibn 'Abi Taleb, noting the growing corruption in speech amongst the people of 'Iraq and the consequent errors made in reading the Qur'ān, commanded Abu-l-Aswad ad-Duwali to prepare an edition in which the true sounds would be clearly represented, this grammarian did not refer to the speech of Hijaz which, as we have noted, was not absolutely pure, but to that used amongst the tribes of the highlands of Nejd, and so made the text conform to a dialect purer than that in which it had been composed originally, an attitude continued by the grammarians Sibawayhi (d. A.H. 161) and al-Kissai (d. A.H. 102) and their followers in the academies of Basra and Kufa. The text thus edited, however, admits different readings; but these do not at all correspond to what we know as "variant readings" in the text of the Scriptures or classical authors; they are merely differences of pronunciation due to peculiarities prevailing in ancient dialects, or to traditional practices of certain famous Qur'ān readers. At the time of ad-Duwali's revision the Qur'ān text was already treated with too much reverence to permit the removal or alteration of any of its written letters, and so the short vowel sounds, etc., were denoted by diacritical marks over or beneath the sacred text. As the Qur'ān has been the model of written Arabic we find that Hamza was written over 'Alif, *w*, or *y*, after short *ă*, *ŭ*, or *ĭ*, respectively, and this Hamza is the consonant, the letter below merely acting as a "support" to the Hamza. Thus the words *ră's*, *gĭ'tu*, *bŭ's* were pronounced *rās*, *gītu*, *būs*, in the Hijaz and so at first written راس, جيت, بوس, but afterwards pointed رَأْس, جِئْتُ, بُؤْس according to the earlier pronunciation, the Hijazi long vowel being recognized as a variant reading. In course of time, however, the latter was generally discarded in Qur'ān reading, although it has never been regarded as erroneous otherwise.

Arabic

In Arabic as elsewhere Hamza may stand as the beginning or ending of a syllable. Confining ourselves first to Hamza as the commencement of a syllable, it may follow after an interval of silence, or may be preceded by another syllable. It can only follow after silence when it is the first letter in a word, that word either being the first in a sentence, or being preceded by a pause made intentionally for emphasis, or compulsorily in the enumeration of several items in a catalogue. Thus we have :—

(*a*) *Hamza in inception*, i.e. when beginning a syllable after pause. As the Arabic grammarians hold, and rightly, that every syllable must begin with a consonant, an opening vowel necessitates a prefixed laryngal effort which is what we term Hamza. Thus the word *inqatala* (اِنْقَتَلَ) can stand all right in a sentence where it is preceded by another word whose final consonant becomes the initial of the syllable which contains *-ĭn-*, or whose final vowel replacing the *-ĭ-* helps to form a syllable which begins with the preceding consonant and closes with the *-n*, but if this word stands first in the sentence it must become *'inqatala* with initial Hamza. The only way of dispensing with the Hamza in such a position is by changing it to another consonant, either aspirating it so that it becomes *h*, or uttering it so that it becomes emphatic as ʻAyin, or altering it to a semi-vowel *w* or *y*.

(i) Change to *h* occurs even in classical Arabic. Sometimes we find *hana* for *'ana* in the first personal pronoun singular, and *hanta* for *'anta* in the second, the latter accounting for the pronoun *hīt* or *hēt* in Mehri, both substitutes for *hant* (common gender). So usually *hanna* alternates with *'anna* in the sense "to moan". In Qur'ān reading *hiyyāka* is admitted as a variant for *'iyyāka* twice in Sura i, 4: and in the ancient dialect of the Tayyi *'in* "if" could be pronounced *hin.* But these changes are restricted by tradition and may only be made where it is recorded that such a change has been made in ancient dialect: *h* may not be substituted for Hamza at discretion. In modern dialects, however, the change is made in some other words chiefly in Oman where we find *'ayn* "where?" sounded *hayn*, and so *hahēn* for *'alā 'ayn*, *ʻahēn* for *ʻalā 'ayn*, and *fhen* for *fi 'ayn.* The ancient grammarians also recorded four verbal forms هراق, هراد, هراج, هنار, in which they say *ha-* is substituted for *'a-*, but in this they are mistaken, for *ha-* is here the survival of the older causative preformative which has generally become *'a-* in Arabic, Abyssinian, and later Aramaic, rarely in Hebrew (cf. sect. 11, 136, below).

(ii) Change to more emphatic ʻAyin is entirely contrary to the tendency of modern dialects, but we find it recorded of the speech of the tribe of B. Tamim who pronounced أَنَّ as عَنَّ ; such a change is known as عَنْعَنَة.

(iii) Change to semi-vowel was rare in classical Arabic with initial Hamza, but occurs in a few instances as وِرْثٌ for إِرْثٌ "inheritance". It becomes more common in modern dialects, and thus we find *wāḫidh* or *yāḫidh* for أَخَذَ, and so in Oman *wayš* for أَيْش (= شَيْءٌ) "thing", and *yilā* for إِلَى "to"; in Mehri *waḫḫar* for أَخَّرَ "postpone", *yems* for أَمْسِ "yesterday"; in Tlemsen *yins* for إِنْس "chosen friend"; Maltese *yeḥar* for آخَر "another", etc.

(iv) The loss of initial Hamza with an unaccented vowel is fairly frequent in modern dialect, thus *ḥad* for أَحَد "one", *kbar* for أَكْبَر, etc.

(*b*) *Hamza commencing a syllable after closure*

After a consonant Hamza is normally retained, but even in classical Arabic it is sometimes elided, its vowel being transferred to the preceding consonant, which thus becomes the commencement of a syllable instead of the closure of the preceding one, and before *a-* this change is not only usual but obligatory: thus مَسْأَلَة may be sounded *ma-sa-la* as though مَسَلَة, but يَرْأَى must be sounded *yarā* as the Hamza is followed by long *ā*: so إِسْأَل, where a prosthetic vowel is added before the *s*- which would otherwise be vowelless (cf. sect. 66), as it is immediately followed by Hamza, may become *sal*, the loss of the Hamza consonant causing the *s*- to be vocalized by the following vowel so that the prosthetic *i*- is no longer necessary. In dialect where it happens that Hamza is one of a group of three consonants produced by the fall of final short vowels as case endings or personal terminations, it becomes necessary either to insert a vowel or to omit a consonant, and where one of the consonants is Hamza the invariable course is for that consonant to be omitted; thus in Egyptian dialect كُنْتُ أَنَا "I was" becomes *kuntana*.

(*c*) *Hamza commencing a syllable after an open syllable*

In classical Arabic Hamza in this position is generally retained, but after long *a* and before *i* or *u* it is given an intermediate sound, inclining towards *w* before *u*, and towards *y* before *i*; after *u* or *i* and before *a* it frequently becomes a semi-vowel, so that we may get خَطِيَّة for original خَطِيئَة "fault" and مَقْرُوَّة for مَقْرُوءَة "read", etc. Less frequently Hamza becomes *w* between *a-a* as in تَوَثَرَ for تَأَثَرَ, but regularly *ā'a* becomes *ā* as in مَاسَدَّ for مَا أَسَدَّ "how hard it is". Only occasionally does Hamza in this position become *h*, as *lahinnaka* for *la'innaka*. Here also elision may occur, as when -*i'ay* becomes -*ay* and so -*ē* in Egyptian *fēn* for *fi 'ayn*, and similarly -*a'i* becomes -*i* in *willā* for *wa'illā* "if not", and -*a* in the Omani *walla* for the same expression.

(*d*) *Hamza as the closure of a syllable*

As we have already noted, at the time when the Qur'ān was published the Hijazi dialect had already inclined to omit Hamza in this position and lengthened the preceding vowel in compensation, but the Arabs of Nejd, and notably the tribes of B. Tamim and Qays, sounded it true. Thus in Arabic generally *a'* becomes *ā*, as *rās* for *ra's* " head ", so *u'* becomes *ū* as *mūmīn* for *mu'mīn* " believers ", and *i'* becomes *ī* as in *bīr* for *bi'r* " a well " ; and so even when the Hamza is in one word and the vowel in the preceding one (cf. Qur. 9, 49, etc.). In all modern dialect this is the general rule when Hamza and the preceding vowel are in the same word, but sometimes in dialect Hamza after *a* may become a semi-vowel, usually *y*, thus in 'Iraq *qara'ta* is pronounced *qarēt* " thou didst read ", the *-ay-* resulting in *-ē-*, and *ma'* " water " becomes *may*. In this last instance, as with final Hamza in some other words, the change to *y* must have taken place at an early date as we find *may* for " water " in Abyssinian also, as well as in Hebrew plural *mayīm* ; and so *sama'* " heaven ", Abyssinian *samay*, Hebrew *šāmayim*, Aramaic *š^{e}mayâ*, Assyrian *šamāw*. It is possible that we have another instance in *ša'* " sheep ", Hebrew *שׂי, though we find the root also treated as שׂיה and *s'w*.

(*e*) *Hamza in pause*

After a closed syllable Hamza in this position is really the commencement of a syllable, but has become final and has lost its vowel by changes due to the pause. If the last word is an indetermined noun and therefore normally ending in tanwîn, the final *-n* falls because in pause and the word thus appears with a final vowel, as will often be the case also if it be a verb. If the consonant before this vowel ending be Hamza and the preceding consonant be not *h* or *y* the vowel then suffers metathesis, or else the Hamza becomes a semi-vowel; or else both Hamza and its vowel fall away, and thus, in pause رِدْءٌ necessarily becomes رِدْءْ, and may then be read as *ridŭ'*, *riduw* (*ridū*), or *rid*; and so بُطْءٌ becomes بُطْءْ, *buṭŭ'*, *buṭū*, or *buṭ*, and so in the accusative *rida'*, *ridaw*, *rid*, etc. In the dialect of the B. Tamim the first of these forms was preferred, but the vowel was assimilated, thus *ridi'* for *ridu'*.

When the loss of tanwîn and the fall of the final vowel leaves Hamza as final after an open syllable the Hamza becomes the closure of that syllable and may either be sounded true as أَكْمُءْ for أَكْمُءٌ, or following the precedent of the Hijazi dialect it may fall away with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel so that أَكْمُءْ is sounded *'akmū*.

Abyssinian

In Abyssinian initial Hamza is generally retained in the older forms of the language, but the tendency we have noticed in Arabic dialect to change it in this position to a semi-vowel appears in Amharic where, for example, Ge'ez አኀዘ (*'aḫaza*) "took" becomes *yāza*. As initial of a medial syllable following a closed syllable it is retained, e.g. in *'aš'ān* "sandals"; but after an open syllable, though retained in Ge'ez, it is in the later dialects treated as we shall find that the semi-vowels are treated when intervocalic, that is to say, the following vowel is lost and Hamza then becomes the closure of the preceding syllable which results in its fall with the compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, thus in Amharic *'aḫazu* "took" becomes **'a'azu* (cf. § 12), then **'a'zu* and so *yāzu*.

As a final Hamza appears in Abyssinian script but usually as a traditional survival only. In this position it is silent, and the preceding vowel is lengthened, showing the same change which we have already noted in the Arabic of the Hijaz and in the modern dialects. Thus we find written *mā'kal* " food ", *malā'ket* " angels ", but these are pronounced *mākal, malāket,* and stand for original *mă'kal, mală'ket.* We have already noted that in early Abyssinian final Hamza had become *-y*, as in *may* " water ", *samay* " heaven ", etc.

Hebrew

In Hebrew initial Hamza is usually retained. Change to *h* appears in later forms such as הֵיךְ for אֵיךְ " how ? " in 1 Chron. xiii, 12, and Dan. x, 17, and occasionally in such forms as לאם = להם " tire ". Change to *w* does not occur with initial Hamza, as Hebrew and Aramaic show great reluctance to employ this semi-vowel as an initial; but in rare instances change to *y* appears as in יחר for אחר in ויחר Kethib in 2 Sam. xx, 5. Occasionally elision of initial Hamza takes place when it is followed by a half-vowel, thus נַחְנוּ for אֲנַחְנוּ " we ", which appears in six places (Gen. xlii, 11; Exod. xvi, 7, 8; Num. xxxii, 32; 2 Sam. xvii, 12; Lam. iii, 42), and *שֶׁר " who " for אֲשֶׁר which appears with assimilation of the *r* in שַׁקַּמְתִּי (Judges v, 7), מִשֶּׁלָּנוּ (2 Kings vi, 11), and in late Hebrew שֶׁלִּי. Once only does this elision take place with a short vowel, in חַד for אֶחָד " one " in Ezek. xxxiii, 30. Such elision of Hamza has its parallel in Aramaic and should probably be regarded either as evidence of northern dialect or of colloquial Hebrew. Occasionally change to semi-vowel occurs in the case of א as the beginning of a medial syllable, as in רוֹם (for **rawam-*) for ראם " be high ", which latter form is found in Zech. xiv, 10. Only very rarely does medial א become aspirated as ה, as in כָהָה for כָאָה "be humble" and in לְהֹם cited above. Rare also is the assimilation of initial א to the consonant closing a preceding syllable, as in מֵלֵּת for מְלֵאת "fullness" in Cant. v, 12, which was the regular usage in Assyrian.

As closure of a syllable א is preserved in the consonantal text but is generally lost in the Masoretic pointing, which shows exactly the same tendency as appears in the Arabic of the Hijaz and in later dialect as well as in Abyssinian. Occasionally it is retained as in פֶּ֫רֶא "wild ass", דֶּשֶׁא "fresh grass", and a few other words. According to the more general tendency רֹאשׁ "head", originally no doubt *ră'š* (Arabic رَأْس), has become *rāš* and so *rōš* (cf. 43*c* below) by fall of א and compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. In such forms as חֵטְא "sin", גַּיְא "valley", שָׁוְא "evil" of the types *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*, in which the א has failed because it appears as a final unvocalized by the decay of the case endings, it is merely a survival in the written text and has no consonant value.

Aramaic

In Aramaic the general tendencies are much the same as in Hebrew. Occasionally initial א becomes *h* as in Samaritan המון for אמון "multitude". Like Hebrew it does not change initial א to *w*, but change to *y* is rather more common, thus Bib. Aram. יַת for Hebrew אֵת. In Syriac as generally in Arabic dialect א has lost its value as a consonant, thus אמר > ܐܶܡܰܪ (*emar*), etc. The elision of initial א with a half-vowel has become the regular rule, and thus we find חַד "one" for אֲחַד (Dan. ii, 31), and similarly in Syriac and Samaritan (e.g. in Gen. xxii, 13); ܚܳܬܳܐ for ܐܚܳܬܳܐ "sister", etc., and in Tg. Jer. נָא for Bib. Aramaic אֲנָא as the 1st person singular of the absolute pronoun. As initial of a medial syllable after an open syllable Aramaic rarely retains א, it is either elided or changed to a semi-vowel; thus *b*ᵉ*'eš* (Arabic بَئِسَ) "be bad" becomes ܒܐܶܫ (*bēš*), and verbs with medial or final ' show a general tendency to assimilate to those with medial or final *w*/*y*. Always א as closure is lost or else becomes a semi-vowel.

Assyrian

The Hamza is not represented in Bab.-Assyrian script, but this is merely a matter of orthography: its presence is clearly proved by assimilations and other phonetic changes. As initial it sometimes becomes a semi-vowel, e.g. in *yati* for *'ati* "I" in Tigl. Pil. viii, 60. In contact with another consonant, either commencing a syllable after a closed syllable, or itself as closure, older Bab.-Assyrian regularly assimilated it to the consonant with which it was in contact, but later Assyrian dropped it with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, thus *zar'u* "seed" becomes *zarru* in the older form of the language, *zāru* in later forms, and so *kallatum* for *kal'atum* in Ham. K.U. 9, r. 74, etc., whilst *ada'num* becomes older *adannum*, later *adānum*: חטא gives older *ḫiṭṭu*, later *ḫīṭu*, and so *i'lik* "go" (Heb. הלך, Arabic هلك) shows *illik* in Tigl. Pil. ii, 65; whilst in later forms we get *ana ša-al alāni* where *ša-al* stands for שְׁאַל, so *zību* for Heb. זְאֵב (Arabic ذِئْب), and בעל after becoming באל (cf. 13 below) finally produces *Bēl*. As medial intervocal, i.e. initial of a syllable following an open syllable, Hamza is treated as in Abyssinian, first the vowel following is dropped, and then Hamza is dealt with as closure of the preceding syllable. Thus *i-'a-ḫaz* becomes *i'-ḫaz* and then *iḫḫaz*, and *ma-'a-du* after becoming *ma'-du* results in *mādu*, thus illustrating the earlier and later methods.

The ' of ancient Egyptian sometimes corresponds with Semitic *y*, as *hm't* = Heb. חמיץ "salted", and it also appears as equivalent to *r*, as *k'm* = כרם "garden", *q'b* = קרב "middle".

11 (ii) **Laryngal h**

The laryngal *h* is the voiced correspondent of Hamza. In Hebrew the letter ה is also employed at the end of a word to denote the vowels *ā*, *e*, as in עַתָּה, יִגְלֶה, etc., and final consonant *h* is properly marked by the point Mappiq (הּ). In Arabic ه is not used as a vowel letter, but in the form of التاء المربوطة (ـة) it stands for the final *-t* of fem. *-at* which becomes *-ā* in pause. In the Semitic languages generally the tendency is for *h* to become non-aspirate Hamza. In Maltese dialect *h* regularly becomes either Hamza or emphatic *ḥ*.

The most striking change of *h* to Hamza occurs in the preformative of the Causative stem of the verb, where *ha-* itself is derived from an earlier *ša-* (cf. 17 f.).

Change of *h* to semi-vowel occurs occasionally with medial *h* in Hebrew and Aramaic, as מהל = מול "circumcise", דהר = דור "age", Heb. רוץ = Syr. ܪܗܛ "run". This change is more frequent in T.B., but there also *h* sometimes becomes emphatic *ḥ* and so in East Syriac. In neo-Punic ה and ח often become א or ע as in עוע for הוא (Cooke, NSI., 58, 2), and ועמש for וחמש (id. 4). In Assryian all the laryngals have become Hamza or *ḫ*.

12 (iii) The Laryngals ḥ, ḫ

(a) *Arabic*

Of the two laryngals *ḥ*, *ḫ*, the former is an emphatic aspirate *h*, and consequently a voiced correspondent of ع, so that ح : ه :: ع : ء. Hence, by loss of emphasis, ح becomes *h*, as in Arabic تَهَّرَ for تَحَّرَ "make remote", مَتَّهَ for مَتَّحَ "draw out". This change is very frequent in South Arabia, where ح seldom retains its emphatic value, and so in Maltese. By loss of aspiration ح becomes ع as in عَتَّى for حَتَّى "until".

The consonant *ḫ* (Arabic خ) has a sound like the *ch* in German *ach*, "but, I suppose, in spite of the contrary statements of Wallin (*Zeitschrift*, ix, 35) that the modern خ had, or has here and there, an alternative palatal sound (the German and modern Greek *ich* sound)" (Vollers, *ix Congr. of Orient.*, London, 1893, ii, 141); thus خ is used to transliterate Greek χ, as in مَلَنْخُولِيَا for *μελανχολία*, etc., and so خ sometimes appears as *k*, as in Sabæan כ̄מסם for خَمْس "five", and Omani *χamse*, fem. *χams* (id.). In Maltese ح and خ are confused, both being commonly rendered *ḥ*, less often *ḫ*; but in the eighteenth century the two sounds were still clearly distinguished. In Mehri خ becomes *ḥ* or *ś*, as *śerīr* for خَرَّ "murmur", *zaylḥ* for زَنِخَ "rancid oil", and very often this resultant *ḥ* weakens to *h*, and so we get *zaylh*, etc.

Occasionally in classical Arabic both ح and خ tend to become palatal *k*, as in كُلْدٌ for خُلْدٌ "mole", cf. سَكَدَ corresponding to Heb. שָׁחַד "give a present", but such changes are rare though they tend to endorse the *ich* sound and to suggest instances of confusion of ح with خ.

(b) *Abyssinian*

In Geʿez both *ḥ* and *ḫ* are represented, but in Amharic they are confused and both tend to be reduced to *h*, or as initial consonants to Hamza. As the original value of *ḫ* was lost in Amharic, a new consonant letter ኸ (*ḫ*) was introduced for use in loan words from the Arabic, but in Tigré Arabic *ḫ* in loan words commonly became *k*, as in *tarīk* for Arabic تَرِيخ "epoch, history".

(c) *Hebrew and Aramaic*

In Hebrew and Aramaic the two sounds *ḥ* and *ḫ* are not distinguished in the written script, both being represented by ח which is taken as equivalent to *ḥ*; thus Arabic حَفَرَ = Hebrew חָפַר "dig", Arabic خَفِرَ = Hebrew חָפֵר "be ashamed", without difference in the consonant text. In the LXX. ח is reproduced as χ or ʾ, thus חֲלַח = χαλαχ or Ἀλαε,

חֲדְלַי = *χοαδ* or *Ἀδδι*, etc., with ח sometimes weakened to א. In later forms the change of ח to ע or א, i.e. loss of aspiration, is frequent as in Syriac ܥܦܩ = Hebrew חבק "embrace". In later Aramaic, especially in Galilæan, Mandæan, and T.B. ח frequently loses its emphasis and becomes ה, thus Hebrew גחן (in גָּחוֹן "belly (of serpent)" Gen. iii, 14) = Syriac ܓܗܢ "bend", etc. In the neo-Syriac of Ma'lula *ḫ* has generally become *ḥ*, but *ḫ* occurs in *ḫarufa* "sheep", *ḫuttuma* "servant", and in loan words from the Arabic (cf. *Palest. Explor. Fund*, April, 1890, p. 86).

In Hebrew and Aramaic the laryngals ה, ח, ע, א, and the laryngal sonant *r* do not admit of doubling. When the morphology tends to cause doubling either (i) this is discarded and the preceding vowel receives compensatory lengthening, as בֵּרֵךְ for *bĭrrēkh*, the *ē* being due to lengthening *ĭ* (cf. sect. 47, below); or (ii) with ה, ח, occasionally with ע, and very rarely with א, there may be a virtual doubling which does not appear in the written script, that is to say, the short vowel is retained in an open syllable contrary to ordinary usage, thus הַחוֹדֶשׁ, מְחוּט, הֶחָג, etc.

(d) *Assyrian*

In Assyrian all the laryngal sounds have become *ḫ* or '. Thus, Arabic *'aḫ* = Assyr. *aḫ-u* "brother", Arabic حُصّ = Assyr. *ḫuṣṣ* "fence", Arabic أَخَذَ = Assyr. *aḫazu* "take", Arabic حصن = Assyr. *ḫṣn* "cover", etc. Very often *ḫ*/*ḥ* becomes ', as in **raḫamu*>**ra'amu*>*rāmu*, **yaḫṣid*> **ya'ṣid*>*ēṣid*, etc. Occasionally *ḫ* becomes *k*, as in Assyrian *iptak* "open" = Heb. פתח, Arabic فَتَحَ. .

13 (iv) Laryngal ʿ (ع)

Laryngal ʿ (Arabic ع, Hebrew ע) is related to Hamza, so that ʿ : ʾ :: ḥ : h (cf. Sievers, *Phonetik*, 353–4). The tendency in Arabic dialect is for this laryngal to lose its emphasis and become Hamza. In Maltese it frequently ends by disappearing altogether. In Arabic ع may lose its emphasis and become Hamza, or it may gain aspiration and become h. Thus, in Mehri very generally, as *mālem* for مُعَلِّم "teacher", which suggests intermediate *mu'allim,* followed by vowel assimilation, and so in Malta and in North Africa. In classical Arabic such weakening is rare, but instances occur as in أَبَاب for عُبَاب. In the dialects of Egypt and North Africa ع sometimes becomes ح before a consonant, as *samiḥt* for سَمِعْتَ "thou hearest"; and thus in Mehri also before a vowel, as *ḥayr* for عَيْر "ass". Such a change as this is rare in classical Arabic, but we find رُبْح for رُبْع "camel born in the spring", and a few other like instances, some, at least, of them capable of being explained otherwise. Change of ع to ق is peculiar to Mehri, where ع always becomes Hamza, or ḥ, or *q*, as *ḅaḏawq* for بَضَعَ "split". We also find ع changed to غ in modern Nejd, as غَمِيق for عَمِيق "deep" (Doughty, *Travels*, ii, 292), غَيْن for عَيْن "thirst", لَغَنَّ for لَعَنَّ (a dialectal variant of لَعَلَّ) according to Ibn 'umm Qasim, اِزْمَغَلَّا, بَغُوث, etc., in each case with غ for ع.

In Abyssinian no distinction is made between the ʿ and ġ sounds, and in Amharic both become ', " ut in manuscriptis hic quoque multae inveniuntur confusiones" (Praetorius, *Gramm. Aeth.*, 4).

In Hebrew and Aramaic the two sounds ʿ and ġ are merged in one consonant ע. In later Hebrew the tendency was to change ע to א, which is then often elided. Thus, Hebrew בַּעַל becomes בֵּל by intermediate *באל; so בִּי for בְּעִי (Gen. xliv, 18, Judges vi, 13, etc.), אֶשְׁתְּמֹעַ in Joshua xxi, 14, corresponding to אֶשְׁתְּמוֹ in Joshua xv, 50; so Arabic عَسْقَلَان, Hebrew אַשְׁקְלוֹן (pr. n.), etc. This change of ע to א is carried much further in Syriac, neo-Punic, Samaritan, and T.B. Thus Syriac ܐܶܪܰܥ "meet", corresponding to Arabic عَرَضَ (Hebrew עָרַץ "terrify", a secondary meaning in Arabic), Syriac ܐܽܘܗܕܳܢܳܐ = ܥܽܘܗܕܳܢܳܐ "memory". Cf. כעס "grief" (Eccles. i, 18) = כם neo-Heb.

In Galilæan א and ע were confused, for which reason the inhabitants of Bethshean, Haifa, and Tabaon were not allowed by the Jews to read public prayers (T.B. *Erub.*, 53*b*). In T.J. א, ע, and ח are often confused. In Mandæan all the laryngals and spirant velars tend to become א, whilst ע is used as a vowel sign.

In Assyrian ʿ becomes ' or ḫ.

14 (v) Velar ġ (غ)

The sounds ʿ and *ġ* are distinguished in Arabic script only. According to Vollers (loc. cit)., *ġ* (غ) is the voiced correspondent of *ḫ*, and thus we find غَطَرَ for خَطَرَ "vibrate", and أَخَنَّ for أَغَنَّ "speak through the nose" (cf. Howell, *Arabic Grammar*, ii, 39). More commonly غ tends to become ع, especially in South Arabia, and thus we get رَعَنَ for رَغَنَ "agree to", and عُلَام for غُلَام "young man", etc. So in Maltese, although in the eighteenth century *ġ* was still distinguished from ʿ. Amongst the Algerian Bedwin غ becomes *g*, and in all dialects it very frequently tends to become *g*. Greek γ followed by *a*, *o*, *ω*, becomes غ as λόγος = لُغَةٌ; so in modern speech the French *gaz* appears as غاز.

In Ethiopic غ is confused with ع, and both are represented by one letter (ዐ), but sometimes Arabic غ appears as *q*, thus بَغْلٌ = *baql*, "mule." In Amharic both become ʾ.

In Hebrew and Aramaic ʿ and *ġ* are represented by ע, but it seems clear that this letter had two sounds, and so we find ע = غ frequently transliterated by γ in the LXX, as עַזָּה (Arabic غَزَّةُ) = *Γάζα*, עֲמֹרָה = *Γομυῤῥα*, whilst the pure

ע = ع is rendered by *h* or ’, as עֵלִי = ‘*Ηλι*. On the basis of the value ע = غ the ע can permute with *g*, *k*, *q*, or *r*, as נבע = נבך “flow”, מעט = מרט “polish”, etc. The modern Ashkenaz make ע = غ sound as *ng*, thus יַעֲקֹב = *Yangqob*. In later Hebrew and in Aramaic the tendency is for ע to become א. The neo-Syriac of Ma‘lula sometimes revives the غ sound, as in *ġubura*, “ dust,” but this is due to Arabic influence.

In Assyrian the *ġ* sound is merged in ע, and both become ’ or *ḫ*.

15 (vi) **Velar q**

The consonant ق is described as having two sounds in Arabic (Ibn Khaldun, ed. Quatremère, Paris, 1858, iii, 171–2), and these are identified by Vollers (op. cit., 138–9) as soft emphatic *g* (γ^2) and hard emphatic *k* (*ḳ*), for both of which *q* is a convenient symbol. These two values appear to be of equal antiquity, and neither is described as vulgar or disapproved. The soft sound is preserved in Upper Egypt and amongst the Egyptian Bedwin, e.g. *qāla* = Bedw. *gāl*, “ say,” and also in Jedda, Mecca, Nejd, and ‘Iraq. In Nejd we find *q* = *g* or *ǧ*, thus *faqīr* = *feǧīr*, “ poor,” but plural *fugara*; *qadūm* = *ǧedūm*, “ hatchet ” ; *qatt* = *ǧett*, “ vetches,” etc. (Doughty, *Travels*, ii, 605). In ‘Iraq *q* is sometimes hard, and sometimes it becomes *g* or *ǧ* or even *č*, thus *qahwa* or *gahwa*, “ coffee,” *qarīb* = *ǧarīb*, “ near ” ; *qamr* = *gamr*, “ moon,” etc. In Mehri *q* becomes *ġ* or *k*, as *letoġ*, “ kill,” for *qatal* (with metathesis), *qaraza* > *keraz*, etc. In the dialect of Nazareth *q* > *k*. The vernacular of Cairo, of the province of Qalyub, Neosta, most of the Fayyum, of the towns of

Syria, and Malta reduce *q* to ʿ or Hamza, thus *biqadde ay* = *badde ay*, "how much?" (Cairo), *yaqtul* becomes *yigtil* (Upper Egypt), *yiʿtil* (Lower Egypt); *qadīm* = *gadīm* (Upper Egypt), *ʿadīm* (Lower Egypt), etc.

In Tigré *q* at the end of a syllable tends to become ʿ, as *teʿtalo* for *teqtalo*.

In Hebrew *q* shows a double value, as in Arabic, the one hard, which changes sometimes to *k*, the other soft, tending to change to *g*, but in some cases both values appear showing that the soft and hard are obscured by the laryngal emphasis. Thus *qadda* (Arabic) = Heb. *kādad* or *gādad*; in Hebrew we also find the tendency to change *q* to ʿ, as *zāraq* = *zāraʿ*, "scatter."

The same holds good for Aramaic. Thus Heb. *šāqēd* = Syriac *šegd*^{e}*thâ*, "almond-tree," Hebrew *qaššāth* = Syriac *kaššâṭâ*, "archer," Mandæan כושטא; from *qṭl* is formed *ykṭlnk* (יכטלנך, Cooke, NSI., 64, 11), "he will kill thee." In the dialect of Maʿlula *q* becomes *k* (*Pal. Exp. Fund*, Jan., 1890, p. 87).

In early Babylonian *q* generally appears as soft, and thus frequently changes to *g*, e.g. *qaqqadu* = *gagadu*, "head" (*gagidi-su* in Ham. KU. 25r. 86), *qaat* = *gaat*, "hand," etc. A similar change appears in Sumerian, where *qal* = *gal*, "great," *qal* = *gil*, "demolish," etc., so that this tendency to confuse *q* and *g* is possibly due to Sumerian influence.

16 (vii) The Palatals

The original palatals were two in number, hard *k* and soft *g*, but from these are derived (*a*) aspirate palatals *kh* and *gh* in North Semitic, and (*b*) palatalized *č* and *ǵ* (*j*). These derivatives are, in most cases, due to the action of a neighbouring vowel (cf. 37, below), but in so far as *ǵ* appears also as a dialectal variant of *g*, it must be included here.

In Arabic the sounds *k* and *g* are represented by the consonant ك (Mufass. 189, 10). But the native grammarians censure the sound *g* as unclassical when associated with this letter. The Semitic *g* is usually represented in Arabic by ج, but this consonant represents three sounds: (i) palatal *g*, a sound which Ibn Yaish (fourteenth century A.D.) describes as confined to Yemen and to the lower classes of Bagdad, but its extension to Egypt is proved as having taken place as early as the eighth century A.D., when we find جسطال side by side with قسطال and قسطار as transliteration of the Latin *quaestor* in a papyrus of A.H. 90 (A.D. 708–9), and is now extended also to Oman; it is rarely heard in Nejd. In the transcription of non-Semitic words *g* is represented in older forms by Arabic ج, in later ones by غ or ق (cf. p. 48 above). Only in colloquial Egyptian do we now find *g* transcribed ج, as French *gaz*, properly غاز, but in Egypt commonly as جاز. In Morocco ج occasionally sounds as *g* before a sibilant.

(ii) Generally ج = *ǧ* (cf. English change of *k* to *č* in *speak*, *speech*). In Mehri ج sounds as *q* or *ǧ*. In Nejd it becomes *č*, and so in Bethlehem. In ʻIraq, Palestine, the Syrian littoral, and amongst the Christians of Jerusalem ج = *š*. So Persian and Turkish soft *g* usually become Arabic *š*

(iii) Sometimes also ج has the value of *dy*. Thus, occasionally, in Sinai, as is reported, although it does not seem generally known, in some inland districts of Palestine and Syria, and (rarely) in Lower Egypt, e.g. جَمَل = *dyamal*, "camel." As a result of this, perhaps archaic, sound, we find the change of ج to د as in classical جَشِيش = دَشِيش "coarsely ground wheat", and in the dialect of Damascus جَاشَّة = *dāssa*.

As another result of this *dy* or iotacized *d* value, we find ج sometimes replaces *y*, a change to which we shall refer when discussing the semi-vowels (cf. section 20).

(iv) As already noted, emphatic *g* is represented by *q* (cf. 15), and in Mehri *g* often has this value of *q*.

In Mehri *k* usually becomes *kh*, and hence *h*, as *ka-*>*ha-* "like," and in the dialects of Egypt, Damascus, and North Africa *k* sometimes becomes *h* or Hamza.

(v) Abyssinian shows *k* and *g* (not *ǧ*) corresponding to Arabic *k* and *ǧ*. In the dialects of Tigriña and Amharic *k* often becomes *h*, as Arabic *kāna*>*hōna*, "become" (cf. section 37).

(vi) Hebrew and Aramaic possess *k* and *g* and also corresponding aspirates *kh* and *gh*, the aspiration being due to vowel influence (cf. 37). In Aramaic *g* sometimes becomes ʿ, as Hebrew *galgal* = Syriac *ʿalʿalâ*, "whirlwind." In the dialect of Maʿlula *g* becomes *ġ* or *ǧ*, thus *sugrâ*>*seǧrathâ*, whilst *k*>*kh*, the explosive *k* being retained only in loan words from the Arabic, as O.Syr. *k*^{e}*thâbâ*>Mal. *khathâbâ*, "book." In early Aramaic sometimes *k*>*g*, as Assyr. *saknu* = סגן (Cowley and Sayce, *Aram. Papyri*, 13).

(vii) In Assyrian both palatals *k* and *g* occur. As already noted, *g* often stands for *q* in early Babylonian (cf. sect. 15).

17 (viii) The Dentals and Sibilants

(*a*) The transmission of the dental and sibilant sounds in Semitic may be represented by the following table :—

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	(11)	(12)
Arabic . . .	*t*	*d*	*θ*	*đ*	*ṭ*	*ẓ*	*ḍ*	*ṣ*	*š*	*s*	*s*	*z*
Abyssinian . .	*t*	*d*	*s*	*z*	*ṭ*	*ṣ*	*ḍ*	*ṣ*	*š*	*s*	*s*	*z*
Hebrew . . .	*t*	*d*	*š*	*z*	*ṭ*	*ṣ*	*ṣ*	*ṣ*	*ś*	*s*	*š*	*z*
Aramaic . . .	*t*	*d*	*t*	*d*	*ṭ*	*ṭ*	*ʿ,q*	*ṣ*	*ś,s*	*s*	*š*	*z*
Assyrian . . .	*t*	*d*	*š*	*z*	*ṭ*	*ṣ*	*ṣ*	*ṣ*	*š*	*s*	*š*	*z*

(*b*) Taking first the simple dentals *t* (1) and *d* (2), we note that they are transmitted without change throughout the Semitic languages. To this, however, there are exceptions, (i) in local dialect and (ii) in modifications due to the influence of neighbouring vowels or consonants. In North Morocco, some parts of Algeria, and especially in Tlemsen, *t* has become *ts*, a change probably due to the influence of the non-Semitic Kabyle population. The dental *t* appears as *ts* or *th* in the Kabyle dialect of Zouaoua and Bougie in North Algeria and the kindred Berber of Ghdames, and also, it would appear, in the now extinct dialect known as Guanche. The two first named prevail in very much the same area as the Tlemsen and neighbouring Algerian dialects of Arabic. Ghdames lies to the south of Tripoli, and does not seem to have produced a parallel influence in the Arabic of Tripoli; whilst the Rif dialects of the Berbers of Morocco do not show this change of *t* to *ts*. But the Berbers of Ghdames and the Rif country have not had the same contact with their Arab neighbours as the Kabyles of Algeria, and so we may suppose that *ts* for *t* is a North Algerian change which has passed over into Morocco.

In Amharic $t+t>$ *č* and $d+t =$ *ǰ*, a change due to the influence of non-Semitic languages in close contact.

In Hebrew and Aramaic *t* and *d* regularly become *th* and *dh* under the influence of a preceding vowel (cf. 37).

(*c*) A striking peculiarity of *t* is its tendency to fall away when used as a final. This generally takes place in Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic when in the feminine noun termination -*ăt*, which thus becomes -*ā*. In Arabic such endings are generally written ـَة - with what is known as اَلتَّاءُ ٱلْمَرْبُوطَة and sounded -*ā* in pause. As the case endings are obsolete in modern dialect, it there invariably becomes -*ā*. Occasionally this weak -*t* is found also after a long vowel, as in حَمَاة "mother-in-law". In Hebrew and Aramaic ת- or ה- is written as circumstances require. Owing to the loss of the case endings the feminine -*t* has almost always disappeared, only the addition of a suffix, the close annexation of a following genitive leaving the preceding noun in the construct, or, in Aramaic, the addition of demonstrative -*ā*, the so-called emphatic form, secure the preservation of feminine -*at*, although the alternative -*t* (-*ĕt*) is common. In Hebrew the failure of final -*t* from -*at* is extended to the 3rd fem. sing. of the perfect tense of the verb, so that we get Hebrew קָטְלָה where Arabic has قَتَلَتْ and Aramaic קִטְלַת. The fall of final -*t* from feminine -*at* appears in the earliest written Hebrew in the Siloam inscription, where we find such forms as הנקבה, etc. It is found also in ancient Egyptian in the course of dynasties nineteen to twenty-one (Erman, *Aeg. Gram.*, 3rd ed., sect. 174) at a time when there was a very close relation between Egypt and Canaan. In the case of verbs, as in that of nouns, a suffix preserves the -*t*, as in

קְטַלְתַּנִי, etc., and a few instances occur in which it is not dropped, as אָזְלַת (Deut. xxxii, 36) and קָרָאת (Deut. xxxi, 29). In Aramaic, though not extended to the verb, the fall of *-t* occurs quite early, and so in the papyri we find אחה for אחת and ברה for ברת. The loss of final *-t* has become the general rule in Aramaic, and appears, not only in feminine *-at*, but in other cases as well, even after a long vowel or diphthong, and thus we find בי for בית (Cooke, NSI., 63, 16, etc.), and so in T.B. Normally the addition of a suffix suffices to retain the *-t*, but this is not always so in later Aramaic, e.g. ܡܠܟܘܐ for ܡܠܟܘܬܐ "kingdom" in Syriac, and בָּעוֹ for בָּעתוֹ in Bib. Aram. (Dan. vi, 14).

In Mandæan *t* frequently becomes *d*, and so very generally in Aramaic transcription from the Greek, but here it must be remembered that in mediaeval and modern Greek *τ* is often sounded as *d*, thus *ἀρτάβη* = ארדבא, Syriac ܐܪܕܒܐ "a measure", *βάτος* = בת, Syriac ܒܕܐ "beam"; or else *τ* > *ṭ* as *τιμή* = Syriac ܛܝܡܐ "reward".

In the modern dialect of Ma'lula *t* becomes *th* or *č*, and explosive *t* occurs only in loan words from the Arabic, whilst similarly *d* becomes *dh*, as in *Dhemsek*, "Damascus."

(*d*) Taking now the two aspirate forms (*th*) and (*dh*), we find that these are preserved in classical Arabic and in the dialects of Oman, Hadramaut, 'Iraq, the Druses of Lebanon, the Bedwin of Syria, and of the Nejd, Tunis, Spanish Arabic, and sometimes in Oran; elsewhere these sounds have become sibilant or non-aspirate. In Arabic dialect they are generally *t* and *d*, and thus even amongst the Bedwin of Tunis. Where the educated try to render the aspirate sounds they usually result in *s*, *z*, as is also the case in the colloquial of Mecca and Jerusalem. In North Algeria, etc., where the *t* has become *ts*, the aspirate after becoming *t* passes to *ts*. In Aramaic these consonants have become non-aspirate, but new aspirate sounds are produced by the action of a preceding vowel on *t*, *d* (cf. 37). In Abyssinian, Hebrew, and Assyrian the aspirate dentals become sibilants, in each case *dh* becoming *z*, but *th* which gives hard *s* in Abyssinian shows palatalized *s* in Hebrew and Assyrian.

Besides the change of *th* to *ts*, there is a fairly frequent interchange with *f*, less commonly *b*, in Arabic, as *fumma* for *t̲humma*, "moreover," *fūm* = *t̲hūm*, "garlic," etc. So *f* for *t* in *maḥfid* for *maḥt̲hid*, "source," and *b* for *th* in the possible connexion between the roots *blğ*, "be white," and *t̲hlğ*, "snow." Comparison of roots frequently shows kinship of meaning between those which have correspondences between *f*/*b* on the one side and *t*/*th* on the other.

In the dialect of Mehri *th* is sometimes retained as in ثَمَانِيَة "eight", sometimes it becomes *ś*, as in *ślit* for ثَلَاث "three" and *śōlet*, "third," and sometimes it appears as *ṭ*, as in *ḥaroṭ* for حَرَثَ "till the ground", though this last may possibly be an assimilation due to the influence of the emphatic letters *r* and *ḥ*.

In the Zinjirli inscription *th*>*s*, *dh*>*z*, as in Hebrew, thus סקל "suspend" = Arabic ثقل. In Phoenician *th* is retained in the word *θωρ* "a bull" (Plutarch, *Sulla*, 17, Arabic ثَوْر), but becomes *s* (*ś* ?) in *salus* for Hebrew שְׁלוֹשָׁה, Arabic ثلاث "three", according to St. Augustine (*in Rom.* vii, 3).

(*e*) The four letters ط, ظ, ص, and ض are called in Arabic "covered" (مطبق), because the lingual outlet of the letter is covered by the opposite side of the palate (Mufaṣṣ.). Sibawieh says that but for the covering, ط, ظ, and ص would be د, ذ, and س respectively, whilst ض would not exist because it has no uncovered equivalent.

Of these, ط is sounded as ṭ and corresponds to the same sound in all the other Semitic languages, so the error of the inhabitants of ʻIraq, who sounded ط as t in تَالِب for طَالِب "seeking", was that they sounded it weakly and thus produced a value between ṭ and t (ar-Radi al-Astarabadi), i.e. the ṭ is a t uttered with a laryngal effort or emphasis. But Sibawieh treats ṭ as an emphatic d, and this soft ط is admitted as a secondary but correct value of ط, which thus like ق has two sounds, a soft and a hard. But the soft emphatic sound is now obsolete for ط.

The emphatic ص or ṣ also appears throughout the Semitic languages. Here, again, both the hard and soft sounds are admitted as correct; but the soft ẓ is now used for ظ and not for ص. In such forms as مَصْدَر the softened ص is merely a case of assimilation. It is admitted that a weakly sounded ṣ resembles s, so that we may regard the hard sound as more fully endorsed.

The original values of ظ and ض are less easily stated. At present the accepted pronunciation is ظ = ẓ and ض = ḍ, the voiced equivalents of ص and ط. In Hebrew and Assyrian both these are merged in ṣ, but Abyssinian makes ظ = ṣ and ض = ḍ. Thus Abyssinian agrees with Hebrew and Assyrian in voiceless ظ, as against modern Arabic voiced ẓ and Sibawieh, who describes it as a covered form of *dh*. This latter view gives د : ذ :: ط : ظ, and so, if ط, which he describes as voiced, be really voiceless *ṭ*, then ظ is voiceless aspirate *ṭh*, i.e. the aspirated equivalent of ط. This seems to be supported by the script, where an extra diacritical mark over a letter sometimes denotes aspiration (e.g. د, ذ and ت, ث), and aspirate *ṭh* is actually the sound heard in some Bedwin tribes. It is admitted that, as a weakly pronounced ط in ‘Iraq sounded like *t*, so a weakly pronounced ظ became *th*. In Aramaic ظ = *ṭ*, as though ط : ظ :: ت : ث also supporting the voiceless original; but we also find ظ = *ṣ* (or *ṭ*), as *τύρος* = צר on the Seleucid coins; so סיצא (Cooke, NSI. 68, 19). The change of sound in Arabic seems to have been mediaeval, and possibly due to Turkish or Persian influence.

The case of ض is more difficult, for it had no uncovered equivalent (Sibawieh). But in this perhaps Sibawieh was mistaken, and the reason why he could not find the uncovered equivalent of ض was that its " covering " differs from that of the other three consonants. For " covering is your covering the lingual outlet of the consonant by the opposite part of the palate " (Mufaṣṣ.); but the term " outlet ", says ar-Radi al-Astarabadi, is " not universally applicable, because the outlet of ض is the side of the tongue, whereas the side of the tongue is covered by the molars " and not by the palate. This suggests a lateral covering, and agrees with Mehri lateral d̮ and Hadr. ŧ; compare also the approximation of ض to *l* in اِلطَجَعَ for اِضطَجَعَ " he lay down " (but also اِطَّجَعَ). It is mentioned by al-Astarabadi as an error of those foreigners who have learned to speak Arabic that they sound ض as ظ or between ض and ظ; but Mbn. describes a weakly sounded ض as approximating to *th*, as in اِضَّرَدَ for اِثَّرَدَ.

The Bedwin generally and the fellahin very often sound ض as aspirated emphatic *ḍh*, and this occurs also in the dialect of Tunis. Elsewhere it is usually given the value of *ḍ*, in Morocco *ḍ* or *ṭ*. Amongst the Bedwin of East Tunis and in other parts of North Africa, and in Maltese, it appears as simple *d*. The sound *ẓ* often is heard from those who endeavour unsuccessfully to aspirate *ḍ*, and amongst those who have been subject to Turkish or Persian influence.

The soft sound of ض is supported by the rendering *ḍ* in Abyssinian, but Hebrew and Assyrian show equivalent hard *ṣ*, as in Arabic أَرْضٌ = Hebrew אֶרֶץ, Assyrian *irṣitu.* Aramaic has earlier equivalent ק for ض, later ע; thus Arabic *'arḍ* = ארקא in the Assyrian weights and ארק in the Zinjirli inscription (Cooke, NSI., 61, 5), but later ארעא, Syrian *'ara'*: so Arabic *ḍarra*(*t*) = Syriac *'artâ*, "concubine" (Hebrew *ṣārā*, 1 Sam. i, 6).

(*f*) *The uncovered sibilants*

The original sounds are retained, it would appear, in Hebrew alone, for there only do we find the four non-emphatic sibilants distinguished as *s* (ס), *ś* (שׂ), which is pronounced with the tongue slightly raised and curved so as to produce a concave surface, its tip against the alveolars, *š* (שׁ) palatalized as English *sh*, and *z* (ז). The ordinary *s* is not confused with *ś*, for we have שׂכל "behold" distinct from סכל "be foolish", שׂכר "hire" contrasted with סכר "shut up", etc. It has already been noted that Hebrew *š* sometimes corresponds with Arabic *th* (cf. (*d*) above), but there are other cases in which Hebrew *š* corresponds with *š* in Aramaic and Assyrian and with *s* in Arabic and Abyssinian, and here we presume that *š* is the original Semitic sound. The *ś* became obsolete in ancient Egyptian about the time of the New Empire, and was replaced by *š*/*s*, as is usually the case in Aramaic, although we find *ś* retained in *yiśgē'* (Dan. iii, 31) and in בשׂרא "flesh" (T.B.); this *ś* corresponds with *š* in Assyrian, Abyssinian, and Arabic.

Thus the original *s* and *z* remain unchanged throughout, whilst the other two uncovered sibilants show the correspondence :—

Hebrew *ś* > *š* in all other Semitic languages save Aramaic, where we sometimes find *ś* or *s*.

Hebrew *š* = *š* in Aramaic and Assyrian, = *s* in Arabic and Abyssinian. The early similarity of *š* and *ś* appears from the fact that Hebrew used one character שׁ for the two sounds, the diacritical point being unknown as late as the time of St. Jerome (cf. Hieron. in Hab. iii, 4; Amos iv, 13; viii, 12). We read in Judges xii, 16, that the sound *s* for *š*, as in *sibbōlet͟h* for *šibbōlet͟h*, was distinctive of the tribe of Ephraim, as though that tribe then included, as is possible, an Arab element not yet completely assimilated.

Examples of the correspondence of uncovered sibilants:—

	Arabic.	*Abyssinian.*	*Hebrew.*	*Aramaic.*	*Assyrian.*
"head"	*ra'ṣ*	*re'es*	*rōš*	*rēš*	*rēš-*
"six"	*sitt*	*sessu*	*šēs*	*šet͟h*	*šišši*
"ten"	*'ašr*	*'ašru*	*'eśer*	*'ᵉšar*	*'ešri*
"salute"	*sagada*	*sagada*	*sagad*	*sᵉged*	
"name"	*ism*	*sem*	*šēm*	*šēm*	*šum-u*
"seed"	*zar'*	*zare'*	*zera'*	*zᵉra'*	*zēr-u*

It seems, however, that the sibilant sounds were considerably modified in the course of time. We have already noted that *ś* began to disappear in the time of the New Empire in ancient Egypt, whilst it survives in earlier Aramaic, but disappears from later forms. The change of *š* to *s* in Arabic was operative at quite a late date, as we see in the loan word *šatān* (Hebrew), which becomes *saitān*. At a very early date it would seem that there had been changes from *š*/*s* to *h* and thence in normal course to Hamza. Thus, in the personal pronoun Assyrian *šu*, *ši*, Minæan סו, Hebrew *hū'*, *hī'*, Arabic *huwa*, *hiya* (cf. below), but both retained in Mehri, where *he*, *hi* appears as masculine, *se*, *si* as feminine. So in the causative preformative *š-* in Assyrian and sometimes in Aramaic, with very rare survivals in Hebrew; *h-* in Hebrew and in older Aramaic, with a few survivals in Arabic; Hamza in later Aramaic, in Arabic, and Abyssinian, but in these two latter with *s*- retained in the reflexive *st*- (Arabic *istaqtala*, etc.). Here, again, Mehri retains both *ś*- and *h*-. Minæan shows causative *s*-, and this becomes *h*- in Sabæan. So in Mehri we often find *h* for Arabic *s*-, as Arabic *sab'*, "seven," Mehri *hōba'*; Arabic *sitt*, "six," Mehri *hitt*, etc.

18 (ix) The Labials

The labial explosives are voiced *b* and voiceless *p*, with corresponding spirants *bh* (*v*) and *f*.

In Arabic only *b* and *f* are retained. Original *p* has become spirant *f*, or less frequently has been softened to *b*. Under non-Semitic influences modern Arabic sometimes sounds *p* in loan words, this sound being reckoned as a second (disapproved) value of ب, but it is commoner to change the foreign *p* to *b* or *f*, thus *ponticus* becomes *binduq* or *finduq*, "the hazel nut," Aramaic *sapun* (for *σάπων*), Arabic *ṣābūn*, "soap"; *πυξος* (Aram. פקסינץ) becomes *buqus*, "box-wood"; *police* appears as *būlīs*; *padre* as *badrī*, etc. Foreign *v* becomes explosive *b*, as *burkan*, Arabic for *vulcano*. On rare changes of *b* to *m*, *t* cf. Howell, ii, 1333–4. For interchange of *f*/*b* and *th* cf. section 17 above.

In Abyssinian, as in Arabic, only *f* and *b* are retained, but a new *p* (ፐ) has been introduced as well as an emphatic *p* (ጰ). These sounds appear either in late derivatives from original *b* or else in loan words, as *papa*, "bishop," and *Qopros* for *Κύπρος*.

In North Semitic all four labial sounds are retained, but the spirants are produced from the explosives by the action of a preceding vowel (cf. 37 below). Non-Semitic *v* before a vowel is represented by the semi-vowels *w*/*y*, as *Valens* = Syriac *Walīs*, and in later Hebrew *veteranus* becomes איטרון. In the neo-Syriac of Ma‘lula *b* and *f* are used as in Arabic, but occasionally the former acquires the sound of *p*, as *ob*, " father " (Arabic *'ab*), *ippai*, " my father."

Sonant *m* is closely related to the labials (cf. section 19 below), and tends to become semi-vowel *w* (cf. section 39 below).

In Assyrian the labials *b* and *p* appear without change.

19 (x) The Sonants

There are four sonants, *l*, *r*, *n*, and *m*. Of these *m* is allied to the labials, *n* to the dentals. All four tend to interchange, as the Semitic languages, though very explicit in the laryngals, are liable to confuse the sonant sounds.

(*a*) *Sonants l, r*

Sonant *l* is pronounced by means of the whole side of the tongue and the opposite teeth ; it is consequently described by the grammarians as " lateral " (نحراف, Ibn Yaish, ii, 1466), and thus approaches the sibilants (cf. section 36 below). Sonant *r* is described in Arabic as intermediate between *l* and the dental *n*, pronounced by the tip of the tongue and the central incisors ; it is characterized by the " trill " (تكرير), a sound found also in Irish-English (Sievers, *Phonetik*, 305). In Arabic this sonant is closely allied with the " covered " letters, and has very much the same influence on neighbouring vowels, though in a less degree (cf. 56, 57 below), but in North Semitic it is more definitely allied with the laryngals and shares with them the incapacity of being doubled. In ancient Egyptian *l* and *r* were confused, and the same confusion often appears in the Semitic languages, thus Hebrew *širšārā*, " chain," appears in Aramaic as *šilšĕlĕth*, and Arabic *salsala*(*t*) ; Arabic *barsām* has an alternative form *balsām*, " balsam " ; Arabic *farq*, " division," *infalaqa*, " to be divided " ; *ḫayli* as variant for *ḫayri* in Qur'ān, xxxviii, 31 ; Hebrew *'āgar* or *'āgal*, " roll together," etc. This interchange of *l* and *r* is particularly common in South Arabia, where we find *raǧǧa* = *laǧǧa*, " shake," *rataba* = *lataba*, " be fixed," *zarama* = *zalama*, "stop," etc. (Landberg, *Études*, ii, 1764, etc.).

Change between *l* and *n* is less common. We find Syriac *n*^{e}*t͟hal* for Hebrew *nāt͟han*, " give," T.B. *l*^{e}*qaṭ* = *n*^{e}*qaṭ*, Syriac *ḥalfâ* = *ḥanfâ*, "impious." In Arabic the change of final *-l* to *-n* in loan words may be partially due to a tendency to assimilate to the formative *-ān* (cf. 120). Interchange of *l* and *n* occurs in South Arabia, as in *zalama* = *zanama*, " cut off," *kamana* = *kamala*, " hide," etc. (Landberg, *Études*, ii, 1758), and so Omani *berd͟hūl* for *bird͟hūn*, " hackney " (Persian), etc.

Change of *l* or *r* to a dental appears in Arabic in such rare instances as *ǧaḍd* for *ǧald*, " sturdy " (Lane, *Lexicon*, 442), and in T.B. and neo-Syriac, where *r* sometimes becomes *d* (cf. Maclean, *Grammar of Vernacular Syriac*, 121 ; cf. also section 36 below).

Sometimes we find sonant *l* changed to a semi-vowel, as in Mehri *kawb* for *kalb*, " dog." So in Hebrew, *hālak*, " go," appears also as *hāk* by intermediate *hwk* ; cf. Amharic *šōst* (*šawst*) for *šalāstū*, " three."

(*b*) *Sonant n*

The change of *n* to *r* occurs in Mehri as *ber* for *ibn*, " son," so Sinaitic בר, Syriac *bar* ; Hebrew *bāḥan* = Aramaic *b*^{e}*ḥar*, etc. In Amharic *n-t*>*ń*, due to non-Semitic influences. We also find change of *n* to *l*, as Arabic *ṣanam* = Hebrew *ṣelem*, " image," Aramaic *rabbūnī* = *rabbūlī*, " lord, my lord," as a title of respect (cf. interchange of *l* and *n* above).

(*c*) *Sonant m*

Change to *n*, or of *n* to *m*, appears in the indefinite termination nunation or mimation (cf. 132 below). By aspiration *m* tends to become *w*, a change characteristic of later Assyrian, thus Babylonian *amelu* (Ḫam. ed. King, iii, 263) >*awelu*, Hebrew *’ᵉwīl*, Berossus εῠελ “ man ” ; Assyrian *zimu*, transliterated in Hebrew as זיו ; Assyrian *kislimu*, Hebrew *kislēw*, etc. Occasionally we find *m* changed to a kindred labial, as Hebrew *rāmā* = *rāfā* “ throw ”, *sᵉdēmā* = *sᵉdēfā* in 2 Kings xix, 26. Arabic *zaman*, Hebrew *zᵉmān*, Samaritan *zᵉbān* “ time ”.

20 (xi) The Semi-vowels

(*a*) *Semi-vowel w*

Semi-vowel *w* is closely related to the vowel *u*, and also to the labials in such a way that aspirated *bh* approaches *v*/*w*. In all cases *ŭw* becomes *ū*, and usually *wu* also becomes *ū*, except as initial (cf. 51, 52 below).

(1) *Arabic*

W becomes *y* by assimilation to the vowel *i* preceding or following (cf. 40 below) ; change to Hamza appears in *āwi* >*ā’i* in the active participle, etc. (cf. 52 below), but this is not observed in dialect, e.g. Egyptian *qāyil* for *qā’il*, etc. In dialect sometimes *huwa*, *hiya* become *hu’a*, *hi’a* (‘Iraq), or *hu’*, *hi’* (Daṭina), and so we find *’uqqita* for *wuqqita*, and *’āḥid* for *wāḥid* “ one ”, where Omani dialect preserves *wāḥi*, Moroccan *waḥad*. The loss of initial *w* in certain verbs is not a phonetic change, but due to the analogy of the imperfect reproduced in the imperative (cf. 149 below). Sometimes Minæan and Sabæan show a change of *w* to *y*, as in ית̄ב, corresponding to Arabic *wat̲haba*, Assyrian *w-š-b*.

(2) *Abyssinian*

In Tigré *w* frequently becomes *y* and hence *g* (cf. *b* below).

(3) *Hebrew*

Generally initial *w* becomes *y*, thus Arabic *walada*, Hebrew ילד, etc. Initial *w* survives in the conjunction *wa-* (וְ, וַ, וּ) and in וָו "nail", וָזָר "carry", וָלָד׃ (Gen. xi, 30), and in some proper names, such as וָהָב (Num. xxi, 14), וְדָן (Ezek. xxvii, 19), etc. But *w* which has become *y* is restored when doubled, as in יוָּשֵׁב (Nif'al from ישׁב for *w-š-b*). It usually becomes quiescent after a vowel (cf. 51, 52), but to this there are occasional exceptions, as in the noun form סְתָו "winter" (Song, ii, 11).

(4) *Aramaic*

As in Hebrew, initial *w* generally becomes *y*; it is retained in ܘ, ܘܶ "and", ܘܳܠܐ "be necessary or suitable", ܘܰܟܳܐ "fish egg", and a few other words, and in Greek words such as ܘܘܐ = *οὖα*. In later Aramaic medial *w* becomes *h* or Hamza occasionally, as Hebrew בושׁ = Aramaic בהשׁ "be ashamed", Hebrew רוץ = Aramaic רהט "run", etc. In the active participle *w* becomes Hamza only in the singular (cf. (*b*) (5) below).

(5) *Assyrian*

The tendency was for initial and medial *w* to fall away in later Assyrian, but in older Babylonian-Assyrian there does not appear the marked distaste for initial *w* which we have noted in Hebrew and Aramaic, thus *w-š-b* = Hebrew ישׁב, Aramaic ܝܬܒ (Arabic وثب), etc. In later forms *anwašab* > *an'ašab* > *a''ašab*, and so *a'ašab*, etc.

(*b*) *Semi-vowel y*

(1) In Arabic the treatment of *y* is closely parallel to that of *w*. A curious change of *y* to *g*, known as the عَجْعَجَة,

appeared in the ancient dialects of the B. Tamim, Quda'ah, Teiyi, and Asad, especially when *y* is doubled in pause, thus عَلِيّ becomes عَلِجّ (proper name), so إِيَّل becomes إِجَّل "mountain goat".

(2) In the dialect of Tigré the change of *y* to *g* already noted in certain Arabic dialects also appears.

(3) In Aramaic the change of *y* to א occurs in some adjectives in Bib. Aram. and in West Syriac, thus כַּשְׂדָּיָא for כַּשְׂדָּאֵי (Dan. v, 30).

(4) In the oldest Babylonian initial *y* was generally lost, and so medial *y* following a closed syllable, but *y* between two vowels was retained. To the loss of initial *y*, however, there are exceptions, as *yamu* "ocean", *yaabu* "enemy", *yaele* (Hebrew as loan word יָעֵל), etc.

(5) With both the semi-vowels we note the change of *āwi* or *āyi* to *ā'i* in the active participle (Primary) of verbs with medial *w*/*y*. Thus, in Arabic قَاوِل becomes قَائِل, etc. For parallels in the other Semitic languages cf. section 153 below.

III

TEMPORARY MODIFICATIONS OF CONSONANTS

21 (i) Assimilation of Consonants

The consonants transmitted through the Semitic languages in the manner already described frequently suffer temporary modifications due to the disturbing influences of neighbouring consonants or vowels.

Assimilation of consonants is the change produced in one consonant by another consonant in its neighbourhood, which modifies it to partial or complete conformity to itself. Such influence takes place most easily when the two consonants are in immediate contact, without a vowel intervening, less easily when they are separated by a vowel, and only in rare cases when another consonant intervenes; this last is for the most part confined to the influence exercised by emphatic consonants. Assimilation is commonest in the dentals, to a less degree in the sibilants and labials, and still less in the laryngals. But assimilation is a tendency rather than a binding rule; it is commoner in some dialects and in some forms than in others; phonetic rules can only indicate the lines on which it operates when it does occur.

The strongest assimilating power proceeds from the emphatic consonants (cf. 9), which tend to change neighbouring dentals, sibilants, and palatals to their corresponding emphatic forms, operating even when one or two consonants intervene. Usually, however, this influence is only effective when the consonant influenced and the one exerting influence are in the same word, or if not in the same word are in immediate contact. In such assimilations it must be noted that *ṣ* serves as the emphatic form of *s* and *z*, and that *q* serves as emphatic of *k* and *g*. Thus Arabic قَتَل becomes קטל in Hebrew and Aramaic by the influence of emphatic *q*, which changes neighbouring *t* to emphatic *ṭ*. As we have already noted (cf. 68*e*), the emphasis is a kind of laryngal sound given to the dental, etc., and this throwing back into the larynx tends to give a laryngal tone to a neighbouring consonant as well; or else both are deprived of the laryngal effect, and thus in the ancient dialect of Kelb مَصْدَر was sounded as مَزْدَر.

22 (a) **Assimilation of reflexive t**

The reflexive *ta-* (cf. section 138 below) is the most striking instance of assimilation, and appears in all the Semitic languages.

(i) *Arabic*

(1) Conjugations v and vi show *taqattala* and *taqātala* as reflexives of *qattala* and *qātala*, but in old Arabic and still in Qur'ān reading, as well as in various forms of dialect, these take the forms *itqattala* and *itqātala* when the first radical is a dental or sibilant, and when this is the case formative *t*- assimilates. Thus we get اِتَّبَعَ for تَتَبَّعَ "investigate", and so تَدَارَكَ becomes ادَّارَكَ "follow" (Qur'ān, xxvii, 68), فَتَصَدَّقَ becomes فَصَّدَّقَ "and bestow alms" (Qur'ān, lxiii, 10), يَتَضَرَّعُونَ becomes يَضَّرَّعُونَ "they beseech" (Qur'ān, vii, 92), يَتَزَكَّى becomes يَزَّكَّى "be righteous"

(Qur'ān, lxxx, 3), etc. This assimilation follows elision of the vowel of preformative *ta-*, as will be noted above, and is prevented if there has been previous elision of the personal preformative *ta-* (cf. 70 below), thus تَتَذَكَّرُ becomes تَذَكَّرُ (Qur'ān, vi, 153) and cannot then form *ذَّكَّرُ. This assimilation survives in various dialects, e.g. in Omani تَضَارَبَ becomes *ḍḍorub*, تَطَمَّعَ gives *ṭṭamma'* (Reinhardt, viii, 2), etc. In Maltese and often in North Africa it is extended to all reflexives of hollow or med. gem. verbs with initial dental or sibilant, thus from √دوم we have *iddum* "delay" (Maltese), *issib* for *tsib* "find" (id.), *iṣṣekzek* for *tṣekzek* "hiss", *izzomm* for *tzomm* "hold" (id.), etc. In Maltese, North African, and occasionally also in Egyptian, this may be extended to palatals also, as Maltese *tgib* > *iggib* "bring", *tčarrat* > *iččarrat* "send", and Egyptian *ikkab* "pour" (root كَبَّ), and *iggad'an* or *idgad'an* for تَجَدْعَنَ "behave bravely" (cf. Willmore, *Spoken Arabic of Egypt*, xxv, 6).

(2) In conjugation viii preformative *ta-* occurs with metathesis in the form اِقْتَتَلَ, and assimilation takes place with first radical dental or sibilant: (*a*) with د, ط, there is compulsory assimilation, so that we have اِدَّنَ for اِدْتَنَ and اِطَّلَبَ for اِطْتَلَبَ, etc.

(β) With radicals ذ, ض, ث, ز, ظ, س, ص, the *t* may either assimilate or partly assimilate, becoming د with ذ, ز, and ط with ص, ض, ز, or may remain unassimilated with ث, س. The complete assimilation with ذ is rare, but occurs in مُذَّكِرِين (Qur'ān, liv, 15). With ص, ض, ز, we can have اِصَّبَرَ or اِصْطَبَرَ for اِصْتَبَرَ, and اِضَّرَبَ or اِضْطَرَبَ for اِضْتَرَبَ, etc. With ث, س, we may get اِثْتَعَرَ or اِثَّعَرَ, and here also we may find the (rare) contrary assimilation اِتَّعَرَ, and similarly اِسْتَمَعَ or اِسَّمَعَ (Qur'ān, vi, 25).

(γ) Reciprocal assimilation also occurs with first radical ذ, ض, ظ, as in اِطَّجَعَ for اِذْتَجَعَ, that is to say, we may have ذْتَ > دَّ, صْتَ > طَّ, and ظْتَ > طَّ. In dialect this assimilation is extended to palatals, as اِجْدَمَعَ for اِجْتَمَعَ "collect", in which *t* is softened by the preceding soft palatal in contact (cf. Mufaṣṣ. 693; Howell, ii, 1371–2; and Lane, *Lexicon*, 456).

(δ) Comparatively rare is the assimilation of *t* in conjugation viii to medial د, ص, ض, as in اِرَدَّفَ for اِرْتَدَفَ, involving metathesis of the vowel, and so مُرُدِّفِينَ in Qur'ān, viii, 9, and يَخِصِّمُونَ in Qur'ān, xxxvi, 49.

(ε) In conjugation x (اِسْتَقْتَلَ) assimilation occurs only in the verb طَاعَ, as اِسْطَّاعُ for اِسْتَطَاعُ in Qur'ān, xviii, 96.

(ii) *Abyssinian*

The vowel of the formative *ta-* is not elided in the perfect, but in the imperfect (*yetqatel,* etc.) it is brought into contact with the initial radical and assimilates with it when a dental or sibilant, thus *yetsamay* becomes *yessamay* " is named ", *yetdagam* becomes *yeddagam* " do again ", *yetṣasal* becomes *yeṣṣasal* " is shaded ", *yeṭṭamaq* becomes *yeṭṭamaq* " is baptized ", etc. Tigriña extends this assimilation to initial palatals and sonants, as *yeggadaf* " is forgiven ", *yeqqebal* " receive ", *yemmelas* " return ", etc.

(iii) *Hebrew*

In Hebrew reflexive *t-* assimilates to a first radical dental, as הִדַּכָּה for הִתְדַּכָּה (but הִתְדַּמְּקִים without assimilation in Judges xix, 22), יִטַּמָּה for יִתְטַמָּה in Lev. xi, 43. Occasionally this assimilation is extended to palatals and sonants, as *tk* becomes *kk* in הִכַּסֶּה (Prov. xxvi, 26), but יִתְכַּסֶּה in Prov. xxiv, 3; *tn* becomes *nn* in הִנַּבּוּ (Jer. xxiii, 13); *tr* becomes *rr* and then one *r* falls away with lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. xii, 62) in אֵרוֹמֵם for אֶתְרוֹמֵם (Isa. xxxiii, 10). With a first radical sibilant metathesis takes place and then assimilation, so that *ts* >*st*, *tṣ* >*ṣṭ*, as in נִצְטַדָּק (Gen. xliv, 16), *tš* > *šš* only in תִּשּׁוֹמֵם (Eccles. vii, 16), and *zt* > *zz* (cf. Assyrian below) in הִזַּכּוּ (Isa. i, 16), which happens to be the only instance of reflexive with initial *z*.

(iv) *Aramaic*

Conditions in Aramaic are very similar to those in Hebrew. Assimilation occurs with first radical dental, metathesis and assimilation with first radical sibilant, thus *ṣt* > *ṣṭ* in Bib. Aram. יִצְטַבַּע (Dan. iv, 12), Syriac ܐܶܨܛܰܒܰܥ, etc.; *zt* > *zd* as in Arabic, not *zz* as in Hebrew and Assyrian, in הִזְדְּמִנְתּוּן (Dan. ii, 9), Syriac ܐܶܙܕܡܰܢ, etc. In neo-Syriac *t* also assimilates to the semi-vowels so that *tw* > *ww* and *ty* > *yy*. In T.B. and Mandæan reflexive *t* assimilates to any first radical except ʾ, thus T.B. *tq* > *qq* in אִקְּטֵל, etc. In Palmyrene reflexive *t* assimilates to dentals, sibilants, and laryngals.

(v) *Assyrian*

In Assyrian metathesis always occurs with reflexive *t* and not as in Hebrew and Aramaic only when the first radical is a sibilant. Complete assimilation takes place with *s, š, z, d,* as in *issaḫur* for *istaḫur* "turn", *uṭṭeibbi* "become good" (Ḫam. K.U., 20r., 47), but also *uṭteibbi* (id.), *izzakar* for *iztakar* "proclaim" (Ḫam. King, 110, 60, ii *b*, line 12). With first radical *s* assimilation may be partial or complete, as *iṣṭabtu* or *iṣṣabtu* for *iṣtabtu* "seize." Partial assimilation occurs in some other instances, *t* becoming emphatic with *q*, as *aqṭerib* for *aqterib* "advance against", and soft with *g, n, m,* as *igdamru* for *igtamru* "complete." Reflexive *t* also assimilates when in immediate contact with a medial dental or sibilant, as *piššas* for *pitšas*.

23 (b) Other assimilations of t

In instances other than those of reflexive *t* we find that dental made emphatic or softened by the influence of a neighbouring consonant. In Arabic the assimilation *td* > *dd* is particularly associated with the ancient dialect of the B. Tamim, thus عِدَّان for عِتْدَان "yearling goat", etc. In Qur'ān reading *t* normally assimilates to a dental or sibilant following in immediate contact, and this is permitted also in the case of *t* before *ǧ*. Anomalous and rare are the assimilations of afformative *t* in such forms as حُصْتُ > حُصْطُ, خُضْتُ > خُضْطُ, أَحَطْتُ > أَحَطُّ (Howell, ii, 1369), and فَزْتُ > فَزْطُ, جُدْتُ > جُدُّ (Howell, ii, 1373).

In Abyssinian the feminine afformative *-t* assimilates to a final radical dental (not sibilant) in contact, as *wahedd* for *wahedt* " only ", *masaṭṭ* for *masaṭt* " robbers ", etc.

In Syriac *t* often becomes *d* (cf. 17 above), and sometimes this seems to be assisted by a voiced consonant following as ܐܪܕܒܐ for *ἀρτάβη*, etc.

In Assyrian feminine afformative *-t* becomes *d* after *m* or *n* or *g*, and emphatic *t* after *q*, as *tamtu* > *tamdu* " the sea ", etc.

24 (c) The other dentals and sibilants

(i) Soft dental *d*, unlike *t*, is not used as a noun or verb formative, and so we have only occasional assimilations occurring in radicals. Thus in Arabic, etc., radical *d* assimilates to *t* in سِتّ for *sidt* " six " (Sabæan סדת, Mehri *šidet*), and occasionally to formative *t* in verbs, as *ʻabattu* for *ʻabadtu* (cf. Wright, *Arabic Grammar*, i, 16). Although in Abyssinian *dt* tends to *dd*, we occasionally find it producing *tt*. In Hebrew *dt* becomes *tt* (*t* aspirated as *th*) in *lath* for *ledeth* (1 Sam. iv, 19), and *'aḥath* for *'aḥedeṯh* " one " (feminine), etc. In Syriac also *ṭd* > *ṭṭ* in *'aṭṭa* for *'adṭa* " land ", Mandæan *'aṭaṭa*. Later dialects of Aramaic assimilate *d* to a following sonant or labial, as Syriac *hanna* for *hadna*, Mandæan *qammeh* for *qadmeh*, etc. In Assyrian *dt* > *tt* in *qardu*, feminine *qarid-tu* > *qarittu* " strong ", and *dš* > *šš* in *edšu* > *eššu* " new ", etc.

(ii) Occasionally emphatic *ṭ* loses its emphasis by assimilation, contrary to the general rule that the emphatic gives emphasis to the non-emphatic. Thus Abyssinian *westa* for *wesṭa* (Arabic *wasṭa*); Aramaic *ṭš* > *tš* > *ts* (cf. Merx, op. cit., 121, 259). So Assyrian *futten* for *fuṭiten*.

(iii) In Arabic and Aramaic it is the general rule that sibilant *s* becomes *z* before a voiced consonant and *ṣ* before emphatic. In Arabic these assimilations are most marked in the ancient dialects of Kelb, Odrah, Kaab, and B. l'Ambar, thus *razaba* for *rasaba* (Kalb), *bazdil* for *basdil* (B. l'Ambar), *ṣaqy-* for *saqy-* (id.), etc. So Hebrew *p*^{e}*ruzbūl* for προσβολή (Mishna Shabb, x, 3); Syriac *nesdur* sounded *nezdur* "we dispose", etc., and יצחק for ישחק (Cooke, NSI., 64, note on line 2).

(iv) Emphatic *ṣ* shows softening to *z* before a voiced consonant or sonant. In Arabic the change of *ṣd* to *zd* is characteristic of the ancient dialect of Kelb, as *mazdar* for *maṣdar* "root". In Aramaic a similar change is usual before *b*, *d*, and in East Syriac *ṣ* > *s* before *t*. Assyrian generally softens *ṣ* to *z* before a voiced consonant, as in *zubatu* for *ṣubatu* "garment," *zida* for *ṣēd* (Targ. *ṣēd*, Hebrew *ṣĕd*) "on the right side".

Palatalized sibilant *š* becomes *ž* before a voiced consonant in Arabic and Syriac, but this change is not shown in the written script.

25 (d) **Laryngals, Velars, and Palatals**

Assimilation of laryngal Hamza occurs in Arabic conjugation viii in the verbs *'kl* "eat", *'mr* "command", and *'ḫd̲h̲* "seize", and sometimes in *'gr* "pay wages", *'d̲h̲r* "cover", *'mn* "be loyal", and *'hl* "take a wife", as *ittakala* for *i'takala*, etc. So in Aramaic, in Ethpe'el and Ethpa'al of *'bd* "destroy", *'ḥd* "seize", *'ḥr* "delay", and in all verbs in Ethtaf'al (for Eth'af'al). In older Babylonian-Assyrian

Hamza assimilates to a preceding or following consonant in immediate contact in the interior of a word, as *iippaal* for *ii'paal* (Ḫam. K.U., 17, 23, 23r., 71), etc., but in later forms it falls away with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. section 10).

Laryngal ع (ʻ) assimilates to *ḥ* following in contact in reading the Qur'ān and in the ancient dialect of B. Tamim, as in *maḥḥum* for *maʻḥum*. Laryngal *h* assimilates in Hebrew in the suffix *-hu*, *-ha*, etc., of the 3rd pers. pron. attached to feminine *-at*, as *q*^{e}*tālattū* for *q*^{e}*tālathū* " she killed him ", and with *-n* of the energetic *-ĕnnū* for *-ĕnhū*, etc. Similarly in the dialect of Tunis, *-hu*, etc., assimilates to feminine *-at* preceding.

Velar *q* becomes *ǧ* by assimilation to a following voiced consonant in Qur'ān reading and in reading Aramaic; in East Syriac it softens to *g* before *s*, *p*, *t*, and in West Syriac before *t* (Merx, op. cit., 121, 260).

The palatals show assimilation in Abyssinian in the pronominal suffixes *-ka*, *-ki*, etc., attached to final radical *-g* or *-q*, as *'eḫadegga* for *'eḫadegka* " I will leave thee " (Praetorius, *Aeth. Gr.*, 82). In Arabic also soft *g* assimilates to following *š* in reading (Qur'ān, xlviii, 29, etc.).

26 (e) Assimilation of labials

Assimilation of labials does not assume great importance as labials do not appear as formatives. Arabic and Syriac tend to soften *f*/*p* to *b* before a voiced consonant, as Hebrew *parʻaš* = Arabic *burǵuth* " flea ", Arabic *qunfud* = Syriac *qubdā́* " hedgehog ". Similarly, Hebrew *barzel* = Assyrian *parzilu* " iron ". In Tigriña *f* assimilates to a following sibilant in *ness* for *nafs* " self ". Assyrian shows hardening of *b* to *p* before *t*, *s*, *k*, *h*, as *inapatu* for *inabatu*; Arabic *ḫbs*, Hebrew *ḥbš* = Assyrian *epešu* (Ḫam. King, 55, 17); Arabic *dibs,* Hebrew *dᵉbaš* = Assyrian *dišpu* (with metathesis) "honey". In Assyrian also a labial assimilates to enclitic *-ma,* as *erumma* for *erubma.*

27 (f) Assimilation of sonants

(i) *Sonants m and n*

Of these sonants *m* is akin to the labials, *n* to the dentals; hence by assimilation *n*>*m* before a labial, *m*>*n* before a dental or sibilant.

In Arabic *n*>*m* occasionally before *b,* as *'ambar* for *'anbar,* Arabic *n,* whether the ordinary consonant or the *-n* of tanwîn assimilates to following *r, l, m, w,* or *y* in Qur'ān reading, unless in cases where an ambiguity might occur from the assimilation. Similarly in spoken Arabic, in the cases of مِن, أَنْ, عَنْ, إِنْ before مَا, مَنْ, لَا, as in إِلَّى for إِنْلَا, etc. In the dialect of Oman مِن thus assimilates before the article, as in *miššems* for مِن ٱلْشَّمْسِ; in Egyptian dialect this assimilation is generally found before *l,* as in *kallak* for كَانَ لَكَ "it is thine", and in *-īn* of the plural before *li,* thus forming *-illi.* In 'Iraq the *-n* of *wen* (أَيْن) assimilates to following *r-,* and so in Mehri the *-n* of مِنْ before *r.*

In Arabic generally the preformative *n* of conjugation vii (اِنْقَتَلَ) assimilates to first radical *m-,* thus اِمَّحَى for اِنْمَحَى.

In South Arabia and sometimes in North Africa medial *n* assimilates to a consonant following in immediate contact, thus Minæan כדת for *kindat*, Mehri *hanta* (أَنْتَ) becomes *hēt* “ thou ”, Moroccan *bitt* for بِنْت “ girl ”, etc. So in Abyssinian (Tigré) ’*anta* becomes ’*atta* “ thou ”.

In Hebrew, Aramaic, and Assyrian *n* normally assimilates to a consonant following in immediate contact, thus Hebrew יִקְטֹל for יִנְקְטֹל, יִגַּשׁ for יִנְגַּשׁ, אַתָּה (Phoen. את) for אַנְתָּה, etc. As laryngals and *r* cannot be doubled (cf. sections 12, 62), the *n* after assimilating to one of these letters has to fall away and compensatory lengthening takes place in the preceding vowel, thus *yinʿamēd* becomes **yiʿʿamēd* and thence יַעֲמֵד. Thus even in med. gemin. verbs as נדד “ move ”, imperfect ידּ (Nahum iii, 7), but not in verbs with medial semi-vowel as נוּחַ “ rest ”, imperfect יָנוּחַ, as the vowel contraction, it would appear, takes place first and thereby *n* ceases to be the closure of a syllable. However, there are occasional exceptions to the assimilation of *n*, as יִנְטֹר “ he keeps ” (Jer. iii, 5), pausal forms of נצר (except יִצְּרוּ, Prov. xx, 28) “ watches ”, and cases where the medial is a laryngal as יִנְחַל “ he possesses ”. In the verb נתן the final -*n* assimilates to consonantal terminations, as נָתַתָּ for נָתַנְתָּ. In Syriac *n* as the closure of a syllable not final assimilates to a following consonant in immediate contact, even though it be a laryngal, as ܬܢܦܘܩ becomes ܬܦܘܩ (teffuq) “thou goest out”, causative ܐܢܦܩ > ܐܦܩ (affeq); ܬܢܚܘܒ > ܬܚܘܒ (teḥḥub) “thou dost languish ”, and so other verbs with initial *n* unless they are also med. gemin. or med. *w*/*y*, in which case the vowel metathesis of the med. gemin. (cf. section 157) or the contraction of the med. *w*/*y* takes place first and prevents the assimilation of *n* because *n* is now no longer the closure of a syllable. So pron. *att* (ܐܢ̱ܬ) for *anta*, ܫܢܐ "year" (final -*á* for -*at*), emphatic ܫܢ̱ܬܐ (*šattá* for *šantá*), etc. The final -*n* of מִן, ܡܢ, regularly assimilates in Onq. as מִגִּינְתָא "from the garden" (Gen. iii, 23) for מִן גִּינְתָא, but this is very rare in Tg. Jerus., T.J., Mand., and Syriac, where, however, we find both ܡܢ ܚܕܐ and ܡܚܕܐ "at once". Barhebræus gives the traditional rule that final -*n* assimilates to a following initial sonant, sibilant, palatal, or ܡ, ܦ, ܒ (Merx, *Artis Gram. apud Syr.*, p. 258).

Assyrian changes *m* to *n* before a dental or sibilant, as *nakantu* for *nakamtu* "treasure", *unsu* for *umsu* "hunger", etc., also *mq* > *nq* or *qq*, as in *emqu* (Hebrew עמק) > *enqu* "wise", *imqut* > *iqqut*, etc. Assimilation of *n* follows the same course as in Hebrew and Aramaic. In the case of *n'* we find either *nn* (the earlier form), or *n* falls away (the later treatment), thus *in'ud* > *iūd*, with compensatory lengthening of the following vowel: *nš* > *ss* when the *š* is part of the pronominal suffix -*šu*, -*ši*, etc. In Assyrian no assimilation takes place in *bintu* "daughter", but otherwise *nt* > *tt* as in *limuttu* for *limuntu*.

28 (ii) *Sonant l*

In Arabic the article -*l*- assimilates to a following dental, sibilant, or sonant *n*-, thus *al-šams* becomes *aš-šams*, etc. So *l* of عَلْ in Egyptian dialect, and in Omani the *l* of عَلْ and هَلْ (Reinhardt, 8, *b–c*). In some dialects -*l* of the article assimilates also to palatals and semi-vowels, thus اَلْكُلّ > *akkull* "all" (Egypt), الجزّار > *aggazzār* "the butcher" (id.), الكلب > *aččelib* "the dog" (Nejd), etc.

Generally *lr* > *rr* as in *minnirruḥi* for مِنِّى الرُّوحِ "I by myself"; so هَلْ, بَلْ before *r* (cf. Qur'ān, xxiii, 14, etc.); in the Qur'ān this assimilation of *l* takes place before ت, ث, and س.

When *l* is the second radical and *n* is the third, *ln* > *nn* and so when *l* is final before suffixed نِي, نَا, in the dialects of Egypt and 'Iraq, thus *ḫanna* for خَلنا "our uncle" (Egypt), *kitanni* for كِتَلْنِي ('Iraq). In Mehri *l* as second or third radical assimilates to a following dental, sibilant, or sonant, thus *kull šay* becomes *koššī*.

In Abyssinian assimilation of *l* is rare, but appears in *'akko* for *'alko* "is not?" Tigriña shows *ld* > *dd* in *waddī* for *waldī* "my son"; Amharic *lr* > *rr* in the case of negative *'al* before *r-*.

In Hebrew the verb *lāqaḥ* "take" shows assimilation like that of verbs with first radical *n-*, thus we have *yiqqaḥ* for *yilqaḥ*, etc.

In Aramaic the verb *lᵉqaḥ* "take" shows assimilation as in Hebrew. In T.B. and Mandæan there is frequent assimilation of the *l* in *'al* "upon"; and there is assimilation of *l* to a following dental or sibilant in some of the later dialects, as in *ḥaṣṣâ* for *ḥalṣâ* (Mandæan), or to preceding *s* in the verb *sᵉlaq* (Bib. Aram. and Syriac), as *hassiqū* for *hasliqū*, and so to *z* in the Syriac verb *'ᵉzal*, and to *r* in the Ma'lula dialect *reġra* for *reġla* "foot" (but cf. 19*a*).

29 (iii) *Sonant r*

Assimilations of *r* are much less common than those of the other sonants. In the Arabic of Tunis we find *qadd* for *qadr*;

in Abyssinian *’ersu* (Arabic *ra’s*) becomes *’essu* (Amharic); Hebrew shows assimilation of the *r* in *šer* from *’ᵃšer* in such forms as *šallāmā* for *šer-lāmā* (Cant. i, 7). In Aramaic we find the dialect of Ma‘lula assimilating *r* to a following sonant in *amellobu* for *amer lobu* “ he said to his father ”, *namelli* for *namer li*, *qanna* for *qarna* “ horn ”, etc.

30 (g) Assimilations of the semi-vowels

(i) *Semi-vowel w*

In Arabic conj. viii we find assimilation of *w* to *t*, thus *ittaṣala* for *iwtaṣala*. In North Africa *w* often assimilates to a preceding labial in contact, as *mmagen* for *mwagen* “ hours ”.

In Abyssinian (Tigré) after a labial *w* > *y* > *g*, thus *’abaw* > *’abay* > *’abag* “ father ” (cf. section 20).

In Assyrian in the reflexive *wt* > *tt*, as *ittalad* for *itwalad*.

(ii) *Semi-vowel y*

In Arabic in conj. viii *yt* > *tt*, as *ittasara* for *iytasara*. Also *y* assimilates (sometimes) to following Hamza in contact, as in *yā’asu* for *yay’asu* where *-yay’a* > *-ya’’a* > *-yā’a* (Mufaṣṣ. 701).

Aramaic shows *yk* > *kk* in *yikkul* (Dan. iii, 29) for *yiykul*; and *yt* > *tt* in *yittab* for *yiytab* in Dan. vii, 26.

Assyrian *ny* > *nn* in *innasir* for *inyasir*.

31 (ii) Dissimilation of Consonants

(*a*) *Dissimilation of doubles in contact*

The first kind of dissimilation we have to consider appears in the treatment of double consonants without an intervening vowel, in which case the tendency is for one or other of the two to become a sonant or semi-vowel, the change most frequently taking place in the first. The commonest instance appears in verb forms such as *qattal-* reduced to *qantal-*, *qartal-*, etc. Hurwitz (*Root Determinatives in Semitic Speech*, New York, 1913) argues that these are not instances of dissimilation but of informative *-n-*, *-r-*, etc. Sometimes this is perhaps true, but (i) in Abyssinian and Assyrian it occurs as a regular treatment of med. gemin. verbs, e.g. Abyssinian *habbaba* becomes *hanbaba*, Assyrian *imaddad* becomes *imandad*, etc. (ii) In Aramaic, especially in later forms, such dissimilations are very common with a medial double, e.g. [illegible] = [illegible] "roll", etc. In certain Semitic languages, therefore, we find a marked tendency to dissimilation, which at least suggests that parallel forms in other Semitic languages may be due to the same cause. Moreover, there seems no means of classifying such inserted sonants and semi-vowels as to assign to them any clear semantic value, nor can *r*, *w*, *y*, be identified with any other formatives, although a verb preformative and informative *n* exists which may become *m* before a labial (cf. 27), as well as noun afformatives *-n* and *-l*. It must be admitted that the verb forms showing inserted *n*, *r*, etc., often differ in meaning from the *qattal-*, although this might be explained by supposing that some of the dissimilations were of early date, and so in course of time differentiated by obtaining a specialized meaning. Still, as some of the forms undoubtedly show dissimilation, it seems convenient to enumerate all the types thus unless the infixed sonant or semi-vowel can be identified as a formative.

32 (1) Dissimilation of the first

(i) *The first becomes sonant n*

In Arabic this is reported as characteristic of the ancient dialect of Hims, thus *'utrunǧ* for *'utruǧǧ* "lemon", etc. There are a number of words in Hebrew of the med. gemin. type, as *ḥēkh* (*ḥikk-*) "palate", which show this dissimilation in Arabic as *ḥanak*, etc., but, of course, it is often possible that these are instances of medial *n* roots with assimilation in Hebrew. Thus *'ēš*, Arabic *'anīs-at* "fire", Hebrew *'af* (*'app-*), Arabic *'anf* " nose " ; Hebrew *ḥiṭṭa*, Arabic *ḥinṭa*(*t*) " wheat " ; Hebrew *gaf* (*gapp-*) " wing ", Arabic *ǧanaf* " reclining on one side ", etc., but undoubted dissimilation occurs in Arabic *sunbula*(*t*), which is a loan word from Hebrew *šibbōlet̲h̲* " ear of wheat ".

So in verbs we frequently find a form *qantal* for *qattal*, in which it seems that the *n* is not informative, but simply due to dissimilation ; thus from *haǧǧama* we get *hangam* " burst in violently " (Egyptian *d*), and similarly with the forms *ḫanṭal* " work with energy " (Algerian dialect), *ḥanǧar* " kill by cutting the throat ", etc.

Abyssinian shows a similar change in verbs with doubled medial, generally in cases where the root is med. gemin., thus Arabic *saǧǧa'a*, Abyssinian *zange'a* " speak or write in rhymed prose ", Arabic *ḥabbaba*, Abyssinian *ḥanbaba* " run to seed ". Ge'ez *ḥaṭṭaša* becomes *ḥantaša* in Tigré.

In Hebrew and Aramaic the tendency to assimilate *n* to a following consonant is so strong that the contrary dissimilation is very rare. We find it, however, in Bib. Aram. *tinda'* (Dan. ii, 30), etc., with *nd* for *dd*. Syriac *nt* for *tt* in *'ant*^{e}*thâ*, Aramaic *'ittā*, Hebrew *'iššā*, Arabic *'ant̲h̲ā*, but this is more probably an assimilation in Hebrew and Bib. Aram. ; in *nb* for *bb* in Syriac *ganburâ* = Arabic *gabbār*, Hebrew *gibbor* ; T.B. *nd* for *dd* in *nigandar* (Aboda Zara, 28*a*).

In Assyrian this type of dissimilation occurs frequently in verbs med. gemin. Thus, from *mdd* we have *imandad*, and from *'mr* we get (Nt.) *ittananmar* instead of *ittanammar*.

(ii) *The first becomes sonant r*

Instances occur in Arabic conj. ii, as *gart̲h̲ama* for *gat̲h̲t̲h̲ama* " take the chief part ", *qarmaṭa* " contract ", *qammaṭa* " tie up " ; so in Egyptian dialect *hargam* " burst in ", Algerian *darbal* " be in tatters ", etc.

Hebrew *kissēm* " chip off ", and *kirsēm* " devastate "

(Ps. lxxx, 17), *m*ᵉ*kubbāl* becomes *m*ᵉ*kurbāl* "girded" (1 Chron. xv, 27), *sabbēl* > *sarbēl* "cover". So Arabic *qaddum* = Hebrew *qardōm* "axe", Hebrew *'akkad* appears as Ἀρχαδ in the LXX (Gen. x, 10), etc.

Aramaic כרסא "throne" (Cooke, NSI. lxiii, 7) = Hebrew *kissē*, and so Bib. Aram. כָּרְסֵא (Dan. v, 20), Syriac ܟܘܼܪܣܝܳܐ, whence Arabic loan word كُرسِيّ : Syriac *ḥaṣṣ* > *ḥaraṣ* (Dan. v, 20; Onq. Dt. xxxiii, 1); דַּמֶּשֶׂק (proper name) appears as דַּרְמֶשֶׂק in 2 Chron. xviii, 5, 6, Syriac ܕܰܪܡܣܘܩ, Syriac ܓܠܠ > ܓܪܠ "roll", T.B. שַׁרְבֵּב for שַׁבֵּב "cause to drag" (Erub. 102*b*) and אֶגְרְדַם for אֶגַּדַם "was lopped off" (Men. 38*b*). In neo-Syriac ܡܚܪܒܫ "stir", ܡܚܘܪܦ "throw down", ܡܟܪܒܫ "clasp".

(iii) *The first becomes sonant m*

Arabic *ll* > *ml* in دَمْلَضَ for دَلَّضَ "adorn", دَمَلَكَ for دَلَّكَ "make smooth". Amharic *dambara* for *dabbara* "speak". Syriac ܚܰܡܣܶܢ for ܚܰܣܶܢ "fortify". This kind of dissimilation is very common in neo-Syriac, as *mq* for *qq* in ܫܡܩܪ (Arabic أَسقر). Assyrian *bb* > *mb* in *ṣumbu* for *ṣubbu* "wagon", *unambi* for *unabbi*, etc. The preference for *m* rather than *n* before a labial is of the nature of an assimilation.

(iv) *The first becomes sonant l*

Arabic بَقَّعَ becomes *بَلْقَعَ in اِبْلَنْقَعَ (passive with informative *-an-*, cf. section 139) "be removed", هَوَّشَ becomes *halwaš* "babble" in Egyptian dialect, and so فَلْطَعَ "expand" from فَطَّعَ "make broad". Hebrew זָעַף "be angry" and זַלְעֵף "glow", and סַלְאֲנָן for סַאֲנָן (cf. laryngal incapacity of doubling) "tranquil" (Job xxi, 23). Assyrian *bakkatu* becomes *balkatu* "tear down". On the change by which a dental or sibilant becomes *l* before another dental or sibilant cf. § 36.

(v) *The first becomes semi-vowel w*

Arabic حَجَّلَ > حَوْجَلَ "be shackled". Other instances of type *qattala* > *qawtala* in حَوْصَلَ "fill one's stomach", حَوْقَلَ "become senile", حَوْلَقَ "brand a camel", تَحَوْرَبَ "be affected with mange", and in Egyptian dialect خَزَّقَ > خَوْزَقَ > *ḫōzaq* "impale"; in Syrian dialect *ḥawrab* "be angry". In Hebrew and Aramaic these produce *qawtal* > *qōtal*, and so confuse with type *qōtala*.

(vi) *The first becomes semi-vowel y*

Arabic أَمَّى > أَيْمَى conditional particle, بَدَرَ "be full (moon)", بَدَّرَ > بَيْدَرَ "pile up", so ثَيْتَلَ "feign to be stupid", بَيْقَرَ "be amazed", هَيْوَزَ "turn aside", etc. In type *qittāl* as in دِيمَاس, سِيرَاز, etc., where ī = *iy*. Noun type *qittāl* does not occur without this dissimilation unless with suffixed *-at*, as سِنَّارَةَ "head of a spindle". Abyssinian, resultant *ay* > *ē* (cf. 49), thus *daggana* > *dēgana*, etc.

Some Aramaic examples occur in such forms as *sabbera* > *saybera*.

33 (2) Dissimilation of the second

This is not at all so common or regular as dissimilation of the first.

(i) *The second becomes sonant n*

Arabic خَرُّوب > خَرْنُوب (name of a tree growing in Syria, the *Ceratonia siliqua*), حَبَطَ "have pain in the belly", حَبَّطَ > حَبَنْطَ > اِحْبَنْطَ "become inflated in the belly".

(ii) *Second becomes sonant r*

Arabic خَذَّفَ > خَذْرَفَ "hasten", حَضَّمَ "cut off" > حَضْرَمَ "cut off end of a camel's ear".

(iii) *Second becomes sonant m*

Arabic شَرَّطَ > شَرْمَطَ "tear in pieces", root جلط > *galmaṭ* "shave the head" (Egyptian dialect).

(iv) *Second becomes semi-vowel w*

Arabic in جَدْوَلَ "rule a book with lines" from جَدَلَ "twist (a rope)"; زهول "cause to withdraw" from زهل "avoid".

(v) *Second becomes semi-vowel y*

Arabic in خَمْيَرَ "become evil disposed" from "be very angry": *itqarīf* (Egyptian dialect) for تَقَرَّفَ where ī = *yi*.

34 (3) Dissimilation of repeated initials or finals

Another important dissimilation occurs in the change which takes place in the corresponding opening or closing consonants of doubled syllables, as when *silsil* becomes *sinsil* or *kabkab* becomes *kawkab*. This dissimilation appears most commonly in sonants, and more often it is the first closure which changes. At the bottom of these doubled syllables there is generally a med. gemin. root.

√SLL "to extract gently", Arabic *salsala* "to connect", *silsilat* "chain", > **sinsil-*, Omani *sinslā*, Ethiopic *sensel*, Spanish Arabic *cercele*: Syriac *šīšlu-thâ* "diacritical point", where *š-lš-l* becomes *š-yš-l* and *iy* = *ī*.

√GLL "to roll", Hebrew *gulgōl-eth* "skull", *gilgal* "wheel", cf. N.T. *Γολγοθâ* = **gulguw-tâ*: Syriac *gâgul-ta* = **gawgul-* "skull", *gigla* "wheel" (= **giygal*).

√KBB "to scatter", Arabic **kabkab* > *kawkab* "star", Hebrew *kōkāb* for *kawkab*, Syriac *kukbâ*.

√RBB "be great", Aramaic *rurbâ* (= **rawrab-*) "dignitary", רברבן (Cooke, NSI. lxiii, 10).

35 (4) Dissimilation of other repeated consonants

This dissimilation is also extended to consonants which are alike but are not members of corresponding syllables.

Margar- in *μαργαρίτη* becomes Syriac *margân-ithâ*, T.B. *margāl-īthā*, Arabic *margān*, loan word from Syriac.

Mercur- in Latin pr.n. *Mercurius*, T.B. *Merqūlis* (Abod. Zara. 41).

Naḥna, Arabic dialect for *naḥnu* "we", *laḥna* or *waḥna* (Daṭina dialect), Hebrew *šamš-* (absolute *šemeš*), Assyrian *šamšu*, *šamaš*, Arabic *sams-* > *šams* "sun".

36 (5) Special case of sonant l, r

Change of sibilant to sonant *l*, *r*, when preceding and in contact with a following sibilant or dental, occurs in Assyrian.

Babylonian *kuštāru* > Assyrian *kultāru*.

Babylonian *kašdu* > Assyrian *kaldu* " Chaldæan ".

Assyrian *šelašti* > *šelalti* " three ", *manzaztu* (fem. of *manzazu*) > *manzaltu*, *mazzaltu* " resting place " (Rawl. iii, 59*a*, 35), Hebrew *mazzālōth* " signs of the Zodiac " (2 Kings xxiii, 5), from which is derived a false sing. *mazzāl*(-*at*) and so Arabic *manzil* " inn ".

In most of these cases we can have *r* for *l*, as *manzartu* (**manzaltu*), etc. Cf. Amharic *sessa* > *selsa*.

With this change of sibilant to sonant cf. Sumerian *miš* = *mil* " dust ", *diš* = *dil* " one ", *gaš* = *gal* " house ".

CONSONANTS AFFECTED BY VOWELS

37 (a) Aspiration

The aspiration of consonants is often produced by the influence of vowels. In Hebrew and Aramaic, where the original aspirate dentals *th* and *dh* are lost, new aspirates are created by the action of a preceding vowel on the dentals *t* and *d*, and corresponding aspirates are formed from *b*, *g*, *k*, *p*, as *bh*, *gh*, *kh*, *ph*. Sometimes the new aspirate is retained by analogy when in process of inflection the vowel no longer precedes it, thus from stem *mălk*-, absolute *mĕlĕk* > *mĕlĕkh* with the *k* aspirated by preceding inserted *ĕ*, construct plural *malkhi*. In neo-Syriac the prepositions b^e, l^e, d^e, and the conjunction w^e, as well as the formative prefix m^e, do not suffice to produce the aspiration of a following consonant. Again, verbs with final *d* or *t* do not aspirate this dental after a vowel in neo-Syriac save in the dialect of Alqosh.

These new aspirates are quite distinct from the *th* and *dh* of Arabic which correspond with sibilants (*š*, *z*, cf. 17 *d*) in Hebrew and with non-aspirates (*t*, *d*) in Aramaic; they are entirely new formations solely due to the action of a preceding vowel. In an unpointed text nothing distinguishes these aspirates from the corresponding non-aspirates, but in a pointed text the aspirate in Hebrew should be marked with a horizontal stroke above the letter (Rāfe), a mark which rarely appears in printed texts, and the non-aspirate marked by inserted Dagesh. In Syriac the non-aspirate consonants should have a supra-linear point (Qušoi) and the aspirates an infra-linear point (Rukok).

In Tigriña and Amharic *k* becomes *k̲h̲* or *h* under the influence of a preceding vowel, thus Amharic pronominal suffix of the 2nd masc. sing. *-kh* or *-h* but *-ka* after a consonant.

In Assyrian very often a dental becomes a sibilant, which is a kind of increased aspiration, before the vowel sounds *i* or *u*, thus *ma'assu* for *ma'attu*. Possibly this may be a trace of Sumerian influence, for in Sumerian a similar change often occurs before the sharp vowel *i/e*, as *dim* = *zem*, *dug* = *zib*, etc.

38 (b) Palatalization

(i) In Arabic dialect palatal *k* is thus affected by a neighbouring *i*, *e* (*a*): in 'Iraq and Nejd, as well as amongst the Bedwin of the Syrian desert and the fellahin of Palestine, *k* often becomes *č* after *e*, *i* (*a*), thus in 'Iraq 2nd fem. suffix *-ič* for *-ik* (= *-ki*), plur. *-čen*. Less commonly *q* becomes *č*, as in *rīč* for *rīq* "saliva". With *a* there are usually alternative forms as *kat̲h̲īr* or *čat̲h̲īr*, etc. In Haḍramaut, Oman, and Mehri, as well as in the ancient dialects of B. Amr. and B. Tamim, *k* before *i* becomes *š*, as in the Omani proverb *kilnā minnaši yā sī'innat wa-'aqqaynaši wara'-al-'annā* "we have eaten out of thee, O basket, and have cast thee behind the house" (Jayaker, *Omanee Proverbs*, No. 10), where *-ši* twice occurs for *ki*. So the variant *taḥtaši* for *taḥtaki* in Qur'ān, xix, 24. Sometimes a similar *š* for *k* (instead of *č*) occurs before or after *i* in 'Iraq, the littoral of Syria, amongst the fellahin of Palestine and the Christians of Jerusalem (cf. *Palest. Explor. Fund*, January, 1890, p. 98). So in Mehri we find *šebedat* for *kibd* " liver " and Soqotra *boši* for *baki* " weeping ".

(ii) In Abyssinian we find that Amharic regularly makes the changes *k* > *č* and *q*ʻ > *č*ʻ, thus Geʻez *kehela* = Amharic **kε'ela* > *čāla* " he drank ". Before *i* we also get *z* > *ž*, *s* > *š*, *ṣ* > *č* as *'azzazī* > *'azzažī*, etc., but Amharic is much influenced by non-Semitic neighbours and palatalization is one of the results (cf. 17).

39 (c) Change of labial to semi-vowel

In later dialects of Abyssinian and Syriac labials tend to become semi-vowel *w* after the vowel *a*, thus Tigré *nōs* (*naws* for *nafs*) " self ", Amharic *saw* (*sabe*') " man ", neo-Syriac *gōrâ* (*gawrâ* for *gabrâ*) " husband ".

40 (d) Semi-vowels assimilated to vowels

Very generally the semi-vowels are assimilated to the neighbouring vowels so that *w* becomes *y* near *i*, and *y* becomes *w* near *u*; thus *iw* > *iy* > *ī* in Arabic, Hebrew, etc. *wi* > *yi* > *ī* in Arabic and *i*/*e* in Assyrian, as *ukwin* > *ukīn*; also *uy* > *uw* > *ū* and *yu* > *wu* > *ū*, but in these latter instances it is more often the vowel that is assimilated to the consonant.

IV

THE VOWELS

41

The original Semitic vowels show three timbres, *a*, *i*, and *u*. Other timbres exist, *ä*, *e*, *o*, *ü*, but all these are derived from the three original sounds by dialectal variation, or else by the influence of neighbouring consonants. Thus *a* must remain *a* in Arabic when in contact with a laryngal; it may, as a matter of dialect, become *ä*, *e*, *i*, when not in contact with a laryngal or emphatic; it must become *å* or *o*, or in North Africa *u*, in contact with an emphatic. Our course will be first to treat of the way in which the vowel sounds have been transmitted through the Semitic languages, then to consider how they may be influenced by neighbouring consonants, and finally to examine the way in which they are affected by other vowels resulting either in assimilation or dissimilation.

In each vowel we have to consider three quantities, the long *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, the short *ă*, *ĭ*, *ŭ*, and the half-vowel or murmured vowel such as follows the *p* in the French pronunciation of *pneu*. We need not consider the two other asserted quantities, the protracted long and the *Išmam* or timeless half-vowel which involves the compression of the lips as though to form the vowel *ŭ* but without the utterance of any sound, for these are the artificial creations of Qur'ān readers and concern liturgy rather than philology. Nor can we formulate any actual time measure for the three quantities, but only a relative time as between long, short, and half-vowel. But the quantity affects the timbre. Almost always the timbre becomes duller and more obscure as the quantity is decreased. In modern

Arabic the short vowels tend to become vague in timbre and to differ, not only between districts, but between the different quarters of a town, and even between individual speakers, whilst the half-vowel has an indeterminate timbre partaking of *ĭ-ĕ* and *ŭ*; in all cases the consonants are more distinct, and the whole speech thrown back deeper into the throat than is the case with the Indo-European languages. So in Hebrew short *ă* unaccented tends to become *ĕ* or *ĭ*, whilst *ŭ* is confused with *ŏ*, and the half-vowel, if not accompanying a laryngal, becomes the vague ᵉ of Sh'wa mobile.

Apart from vowel quantity, there is another relation of time. In the main we may contrast the *tempo lente* of deliberate narration with the more hurried speech, the *tempo allegro* of command or exclamation. Thus, generally, the imperative *'qtŭl* (Heb. קְטל, Arabic اُقْتُلْ) and the Jussive show more rapid utterance in verbs, and so the vocative in nouns. Thus, in Hebrew we find indicative *yaqṭīl,* Jussive *yaqṭēl,* imperative *haqtēl,* where *ē* is shorter than *ī*, both increased from original *ĭ*. Similarly, in Arabic the final *-ī* of the fem. imperative becomes short as *'uqtulĭ*, and suffixed *-ī* becomes short *-ĭ* in the exclamation *yā qawmĭ* "O my people!" in Qur. v, 21. On the other hand, there is a distinct tendency to a more deliberate enunciation in liturgical reading than in colloquial speech, and this has undoubtedly affected the Masoretic pointing of the O.T. and the traditional method of reading the Qur'ān so that neither truly represent the spoken language. This produces a more serious effect in the O.T. than in the Qur'ān, because in the time of the Masoretic punctators the Hebrew language was no longer spoken, whilst the Qur'ān pointing as we know was made with reference to the comparatively pure speech then actually current in the dialects of the tribes of Nejd.

42 Accent

Accent is of two kinds, (i) accent of stress and (ii) accent of pitch. Generally speaking, the former influences the quantity of the vowels, whilst the latter is itself influenced by vowel quantity.

Unfortunately accent is not represented in Arabic script, and we have to rely upon the actual usage of living speech. According to this we find an accent of pitch, which is concerned with musical rhythm and not with emphasis, as the accent generally employed in Syria and Egypt and recognized as the accent to be used in Qur'an reading. But the dialects of North Africa show an entirely different accent expressive of stress, and Arabia shows the accent of pitch encroaching on and gradually displacing the stress accent.

In the dialects of North Africa the tendency is to accent the penultimate syllable, and this, it will be noted, in the perfect of verbs means that the emphasis is laid on the characteristic vowel, as in *qatála, labísa, ḥasúna.* So we get in Tripoli *ktéb* (for *kataba*), impf. *yéktib* ; in Tunis *ktíb, yíktib* ; Tlemsen *ktséb, yéktseb* ; South Algeria *ktíb, yíktib* ; Morocco *ktéb, yékteb* or *yektéb.* In all modern dialect there is a strong tendency to drop an unaccented vowel or, as in the above examples of the perfect tense, to replace it by a half-vowel.

The same accent of stress appears in Ethiopic, Hebrew, and Aramaic. The accentuation of Assyrian is so far obscure that we are not justified in formulating any conclusions.

The accent of pitch seems to be a modern or at least a mediaeval introduction. It appears in the Arabic of Syria and Egypt, and is now regarded as the classical accent; in Arabia it is at the present moment gaining ground to the excluding of the older accent of pitch. The modern Ashkenaz use this accent, contrary to the written tone, in reading Hebrew. This accent of pitch falls on the last long or closed syllable, or, failing this, on the syllable most remote from the final, thus *yuqáttilu*, *kátib*, *qátala*, *magíd*, etc.

43 (i) Long vowel ā

From the general scheme of the vowel sounds it will appear that in pronouncing the vowel *a* the tongue is further removed from the palate than in producing any other of the vowels. In sounding *u* or *i* the lower jaw is raised and the outlet is brought, in the case of *u*, nearer to the soft palate, and in the case of *i* nearer to the hard palate. The sound of *o* is intermediate between *a* and *u*, that of *e* is similarly intermediate between *a* and *i*. In considering modifications of timbre in the vowel *a*, therefore, we have two directions of change, (i) through *o* towards *u*, and (ii) through *e* towards *i*.

(*a*) *Arabic*

In classical Arabic, that is to say, the form of the language traditionally employed in reading the Qur'ān, the change of *a* towards *o-u* is obligatory before or after one of the emphatic letters ص, ض, ط, ظ, ق, and this modification is compulsory and unavoidable. This modification results in the sound *å*, but in dialect is carried on to full *o* or *u*. So far as it results from the influence of neighbouring consonants, this modification will be considered at a later point (cf. 56 below); we have now to consider a similar modification which is a mark of variation of dialect and not caused by a neighbouring emphatic consonant.

(*a*) The broad *a* is mentioned by Sibawaih, az-Zamakhshari, and ar-Radi al-Astarabadi, and is defined by the last of these as the Alif which is directed towards Waw. On the same authority we are told that it was a common mistake in writing as in speech for the people of the Hijaz to substitute Waw for Alif, as in صلوة for صلاة.

In all South Arabia east of Daṭina accented *ắ* becomes *ó* (Landberg, *Études*, ii, 295); thus *banát* becomes *banót*, *sáḥir*>*sóḥer* "wizard" (plur. *sḥarĕt* for *saḥarat*), *bilā*>*beló* "without", *kamāh*>*kamóh* "like this", *'arbă‘ăt*>*rbót* "four", *sáb‘*>*hóba‘* "seven" (Mehri), etc.

In Syria isolated cases occur of *ā* modified to *å* or *ō*. Change of *ā* to *å*, *ō*, *ū*, appears also in the dialect of the rural peasantry of Malta. Although the Maltese dialect belongs to the North African group, a Syrian element seems to occur in it, and this is more apparent in the dialect of the rural districts.

(*β*) The *Imale* (إِمَالَةٌ) or "deflection" is the name given to the inclination of *a* towards *ä*, *e*, *i*. The native grammarians attribute this to assimilation to a preceding or following *ī̆*, or to a preceding *y*, or to a following *ya*, or secondarily to *ā* derived by contraction from a syllable containing *y* (cf. 51, 52 below), or to the extension of its influence by analogy to cases where, although *ā* is derived by contraction from a syllable containing *w*, this *w* sometimes becomes *y* in inflection, or else in Qur'ān reading to cases where a verse with a vowel ending -*ā* is made to correspond with another verse where -*ā* suffers Imale for one of the reasons already described. Thus all instances of Imale are ultimately traced to assimilation of *a* to *i* or *y*; but this theory is disputed by European philologists (e.g. Brockelmann, *Grundr.*, 51, *b*, *β*). The matter seems to be that as in any case the Imale is regarded as optional, that is to say, it is always allowable to read pure *a* even where the sound is modified by some, the Qur'ān readers have established an artificial rule restricting the use of Imale to certain particular instances, a restriction unknown in the spoken language. How far this rule may be based on the ancient dialect of the B. Tamim, who are described as those most given to the use of the Imale, and how far it has been developed on purely speculative lines, it is impossible to say. We can only state that the traditional method of reading confines it to certain cases which ultimately depend on assimilation, and that the living speech applies it to cases which show no influence of assimilation or any kind of analogy by which they can be referred to such assimilation. It may be, indeed, that the traditional rules observed in Qur'ān reading are purely artificial creations of grammarians and Qur'ān readers; but, whatever they are worth, they represent a definite tradition which cannot be ignored, even if we ultimately decide to reject its substance. As we have already noted, it is always allowable to sound the *a* true. The Imale is said to have been commonest amongst the B. Tamim, less common amongst the people of Qays, 'Asad, and rare in the Hijaz.

The traditional Imale as admitted in Qur'ān reading is of four kinds:—

(i) *Due to assimilation*

Change of *ā̆* to *ā̌*/*ĕ* after *ī̆* or *y*, or before *ī̆* or *ya*.

(*a*) After *ī̆* or *y* Imale may occur immediately as in *bayēn* for *bayān*, "argument," *bayyē'* for *bayyā'*, "merchant," *'imēd* for *'imād*, "tent-pole," etc., or separated by two consonants, i.e. in a syllable following a closed syllable containing *ī̆*, as *šimlēl* for *šimlāl*, "brisk (of a she-camel)," and *'innē* for *'innā*, "verily we . . ." (Qur. ii, 151), or even after *ī̆*, *y*, two syllables before, provided that the syllable containing *ā̆*, or the intervening syllable, begin with *h*, as in *baytĕhē* for *baytăhā*, which is really assimilation of *ā* to preceding *ĕ* which is the result of Imale of *ta*-.

(*b*) Before *ī̆* or *ya*, not before *yu*, immediately, i.e. in the next syllable, as *'ēlim* for *'ālim*, "learned," *kētib* for *kātib*, "clerk," *sēyartuhu* for *sāyartuhu*, "I kept pace with him." In all these instances it is noted that the Hijazi pronunciation admitted Imale caused by *ĭ* only, and not that caused by *y* either before or after.

(ii) *Due to derivation*

(*a*) In final *ā* derived by contraction from a syllable containing *y*, as in the verb *hadē* for *hadā*, "direct," from root *hdy*; and so in nouns like *sakrā*, fem. of *sakrān*, "drunk," because this fem. -*ā* is derived from -*ay* (cf. sect. 118), as -*ē* (for -*ay*) in Hebrew *'eśrē*, "ten," in fem. numerals 11–19, and Samaritan fem. numerals in י; so T.B. and Targ. *ay* > *ē* in *zōṭartē*, "little (finger)," *ḥ*^{a}*datē*, "new (year)"; and Ethiopic *'aḥatti* (for *'aḥadti*), fem. of *'aḥadu*, "one." And similarly in noun forms such as *fatēt*, fem. of *fata-*, as this *ā* has its being in a syllable which originally contained radical *y*.

(*β*) Final -*ā* from *w*, which is taken for *y* because in the course of inflection it appears as *y*, an extension of the preceding case by (false) analogy which is tolerated but not approved. Thus *ġazā* > *ġazē* though from √*ġzw* because the last radical appears as *y* in passive *ġaziya*; and *malhā* > *malhē*, "place of entertainment," though from √*lhw* because it forms dual *malhayāni*. Such exceptions seem to show the Qur'ān readers straining their self-imposed rules in the endeavour to meet the usage of colloquial speech.

(*γ*) Medial *ā* in verbs with medial *ya*, *yi*, or *wi*, all making *ĭ* in double closure, as *kāla*, *kilta*, *bāġa*, *haba*, etc., but not medial *ā* derived from *wa*, *wu*, as *qāla*, *qulta*, *ṭāla*, etc.

(*δ*) Medial *ā* in nouns derived from *y*, but not if derived from *w*; thus *nāb-* (√*nyb*), *'āb-* (√*'yb*), not *bāb-* (√*bwb*), *dār-* (√*dwr*).

(*ε*) Imale of fem. -*at*, -*ā* in pause is admitted and is the only case of Imale with this termination. Thus, *raḥmat* in pause becomes *raḥmā* or *raḥmē*. But Imale is not permitted with -*āt*, (-*ā*) as in *ṣalāt*, but only when the long -*ā* is produced by the fall of the fem. -*t*, unless -*āt* is itself due to final -*y*, in which case it comes under the heading of (ii, *a*) above: nor is such Imale permitted when the -*ā* is the added " ه of silence ", as it is called.

(iii) *Restriction of the Imale*

The rules given above for regulating the permissive use of the Imale represent a tradition whose authority has been questioned, but the recorded " restrictions " in the main agree with what is actually observed in existing dialect. These restrictions can be reduced ultimately to three headings: (i) Imale is prevented by the influence of neighbouring consonants, that is to say, a laryngal in contact compels the pure *a* to be retained; an emphatic or *r* in contact causes the *a* to tend towards *å*>*o*>*u*, and consequently prevents its deflection towards *ä*>*e*>*i*. These instances of consonant influence will be treated more fully later (cf. 53 seq.). (ii) Imale is not admitted in the uninflected, prepositions, etc.—this is a Qur'ān readers' rule which is not entirely endorsed by the usage of living speech. (iii) The cause of the Imale, i.e. neighbouring *i* or *y*, must be in the same word as the vowel affected, and it cannot operate if the cause (*i* or *y*) is elided. These two latter rules are merely based on the theory that Imale is due to assimilation, but rule (i) is important and must be carefully observed.

(iv) *Arabic Dialect*

In Arabic dialect Imale is much commoner than in the traditional system of Qur'ān reading, but it is worth noting the statement made in Willmore's *Spoken Arabic of Egypt* (p. 3, n. 2) that " most of the numerous examples given by Spitta of *imâla* or thinning of the *a*-vowels are illustrations of foreign (fellah, bedawi, or berberi) pronunciation. Such forms as *kelâm*, *lamde*, do not occur in the dialect of Cairo as spoken by natives ".

(1) *ā̆*>*ǟ̆* in Syria, North Africa, Egypt: thus *tǟmǟn*, "eight" (Egypt), *nǟs*, "men" (Syria), suffixed 1st plur. pron. *-nǟ* (Egypt). In the Libyan desert commonly *ā*>*ǟ/iǟ*.

(2) *ā̆*>*ē̆* in Syria, 'Iraq, Oman, North Africa, Egypt, etc.: as *kitēb*, "book" (Morocco), suffix *-nē* (Oman), *-nē*, *-nī* (Dofar), *tkēllemt* for *takallamtu*, "I have spoken" (Morocco).

(3) *ā̆*>*ī̆* chiefly in South Arabia and North Africa, as *nīzel*, "descending" (Maltese). Fem. *-at* (*-ā*)>*-īt* in Mehri, as in *faidīt* for *fayadat*.

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

In Tigriña we find occasionally *ō* for *ā*, *ă*, as Ge'ez *samāni*> Tña. *šōmōnte*, "eight," etc. In Amharic and other later dialects there are occasional instances of Imale, as in *semmēn-t*, "eight," *-nā*>*-nă*>*-nă/-nĕ* (Amharic), *-yā*>*-yē* (Tigriña, Tigré), *-yā/-yē* (Amharic).

(*c*) *Hebrew*

In Hebrew the general rule is that *ā* becomes *ō*, a new *ā* being produced by lengthening *ă*; thus *kā*>*kō*, "thus," but *kăkā*, "so and so">**kăkă*, and thence *kākā* (Exod. xxix, 35, etc.), so *'aykă*, "how?" >*'ēkā* (Deut. i, 12), but *'ēkō*, "where?" (2 Kings vi, 13). Normally original *ā* becomes *ō*, as in *šōq* (Arabic *šāq*), "leg," *šalōm* (Arabic *salām*), "peace," *gibbōr* (Arabic *ǵabbār*), "hero," unless (i) *ā* has been shortened to *ă* and afterwards lengthened to *ā*, or (ii) in loan words where abnormal forms occur, as *M*^{e}*'ara* (Arabic *Maġāra*(*t*) pr.n. Judges xiii, 4, Vulg. *Maarah*), *P*^{e}*rāθ* (Assyrian *purāt*, Sumerian *pura*), "Euphrates," and in such words as *k*^{e}*θāb*, "book," an Aramaic loan word in later Hebrew (Daniel, Esther) replacing the older *sēfĕr*.

The Hebrew *ô* from original *ā* and that from original *aw* (cf. 50) is longer than the *ô* produced by lengthening original *ŭ* (cf. 48*c*), so that by decrease of accent *ô*>*ū*; thus *gibbōr*, "strong," *g^{e}būrā*, "strength," *mānōs*, "flight," fem. *m^{e}nūsā*, although it may be that these latter are separate forms of type *qatûl*, a form usually employed for the passive participle, as *'asūr*, "imprisoned," *b^{e}θūlā*, "virgin (secluded)," etc., and we also find fem. with *ō* as *b^{e}šōrā*, "good news" (Arabic *bisāra*(*t*)), etc. So in double closure *ǻ* from *wa* (cf. 52) as in *naqōm* becomes *ū*, *n^{e}qūmōtā*. But imperative 2nd pl. *qūmū* (<*ŭ*) becomes with double closure *qōmnā*. Very often this longer *ō* is marked by the presence of Waw, which is absent from *ō*<*ŭ*, but this should not be taken as a strict rule, for even in the twelfth century A.D. medial Waw as a "support" of the vowel point was largely at the discretion of the copyist, teste, Ibn Ezra.

But older forms exist in which original *ā* became *ū* not *ō*. Thus in the Amarna letters we have *zurū'a*, "arm," where Hebrew has *z^{e}rōă'* (Arabic *d͟hira'*-), *rūšu*, "head," Heb. *rōš*, both for original *ra'š* (Arabic *ra's*). Amarna *anūkī* = Heb. *'^{a}nōkī*, *aḥarūnū* = Heb. *'^{a}ḥarōnō*. So we find Heb. *taffūăḥ*, "apple," for **taffāḥ* (Arabic *tuffāḥ*).

(*d*) *Aramaic*

In East Syriac and Bib. Aramaic *ā* is retained, thus *'^{e}nāš* (Dan. ii, 10) = Heb. *'^{e}nōš* (Arab. *nās*), *'elāhīn* (Dan. ii, 11) = Heb. *'^{e}lōhīm*, *d^{e}rā'* (Dan. ii, 32) = Heb. *z^{e}rōă'*, but in West Syriac *ā* becomes *ō* or *å* as in Hebrew. Thus *šalām* (Arabic *salām*) = Bib. Ar. *š^{e}lām* (Ezra iv, 17), West Syr. *š^{e}lōm*, East Syr. *š^{e}lām*, the written vowel *zĕqāfā* or *zĕqōfō* being sounded *ā* in East Syr. and *ō* in West Syr. So *ζωνάριον* = East Syr. *zōnārā*, West Syr. *zūnōrō*; Arabic *θalāθ*, "three" = Bib. Ar. *t^{e}lāθā*, East Syr. *t^{e}lāθā*, West Syr. *t^{e}lōθō*, neo-Syr. *t^{e}lāt* (Urmi), *tlōtā* (Ma'lula), but in Ma'lula dialect as in South Arabia accented *á* becomes *ō*, unaccented *ā* is retained. In the districts of Salamis, Qudshanis, etc., and to a less degree elsewhere in East neo-Syr. there is a tendency for *ā* to become *ē*, or *ī*, but this Imale of *ā* is not so common as that of *ă*. In compensatory lengthening of *ă* at the fall of a following consonant in East Syr. *ā*>*ō*, thus *'ăb*, *'ăw*, and even *ōf* or *ŏ*. In Nabatæan **nāš*, "men" (Arab. *nās*) = אנוש (Cooke, NSI. 79, 7 ; 89, 5).

(*e*) *Assyrian*

In later Assyrian *ā* frequently becomes *ē* or *ī*, thus *sarmānu* appears as *sarmēnu*, etc.

44 (ii) Long vowel ī

The vowel *i* is thrown forward so that the outlet advances to the hard palate. Whilst *ī* proper is a clear sound, its obscuring results in *ē*, which is intermediate between *a* and *i* (on *ē* resulting from *ay* cf. 49 below). Akin to vowel *i* is semi-vowel *y*. Always *ĭy*>*ī* just as *ŭw*>*ū* ; generally *yi-*>*ī* (but cf. 40) ; *iw* may become *iy*>*ī* or *uw*>*ū* according to whether the semi-vowel is assimilated to the vowel or vice versa.

(*a*) *Arabic*

As a rule long *ī* is maintained, but occasionally we find final -*ī* in an open syllable modified to -*ē*, thus *hiya*, "she"> *hī* or *hē* (Egypt).

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

Final -*ī* in an open syllable is occasionally modified, especially in later dialects, thus pronominal suffix -*nī*>-*nē* in Tigré. Ge'ez *zĕ* for Arabic *d̲h̲ī*.

(c) *Hebrew*

Generally *ī* retained as in *ṣādīq*, "just"; but the modification of final -*ī* accented in an open syllable is frequent, thus Arabic *d̲h̲i* = Heb. *zĕ*, Arabic *θamāni*, "eight" = Heb. *šᵉmōnĕ*, and other instances in ל״י verbs, such as **yagliy*> *yigle* ; so *pĕ*, "mouth," which returns to *pī* in the construct because no longer final.

(*d*) *Aramaic*

In Bib. Ar. accented long *ī* not final is preserved, but final -*ī* accented usually becomes *ē̆*- : unaccented it varies between *ī* and *ē*, thus Heb. *zĕ* but Aram. *dī*; verbs final -*y*, *iy* > *ē* as *yibʿē* (Dan. vi, 8, 13), *yiqrē* (Dan. v, 7), etc. Syriac *negle*, neo-Syr. *gale* in Urmi, etc. In Syriac original *ī̆* retains its timbre in the west, but in the east becomes *e*, the written sign Hebotso (—̤ or —̽) being given these different sounds in the two areas. Thus Bib. Ar. *n*^{e}*bīyā*, "prophet" (Ezra v, 1) = W.S. *n*^{e}*bīyō*, E.S. *n*^{e}*bēyā*. So passive ptc. B.A. *k*^{e}*θīb*, but also *t*^{e}*qēl* (Dan. v, 25, 27), Syr. W.S. *q*^{e}*ṭīl*, E.S. *q*^{e}*ṭēl*. In Maʿlula *ī* becomes *ē* in closed syllable as plur. -*ēn* for -*īn*.

(*e*) *Assyrian*

Long *ī* and *ē* seem to have been confused in the later language and freely interchanged.

45 (iii) Long vowel ū

As *ē* is the obscuring of *ī*, so *ō* is the obscuring of *ū*, the *u* being imperfectly formed and so partaking of the *a* sound. (For *ō* resulting from *aw* cf. 50.) As the vowel *i* is akin to the semi-vowel *y* so *u* is akin to *w*.

(*a*) *Arabic*

As a rule long *u* is retained, but in dialect we sometimes find it obscured as *ō*, thus *huwa* "he" > *hū* or *hō* (Egypt). So especially in North Africa with the emphatic letters (cf. 57), as *ṣōq* for *ṣūq* "market", etc.

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

Usually long *ū* is retained, but sometimes it is obscured to *ō*, and this tendency is increased in later dialects, thus *hum* > **hūmū*, Geʿez *hōmū*; Tigré *hōm*, *ōm*; Tigriña *'om*, *ōm*; Amharic *ōm*.

(*c*) *Hebrew*

Original ū as ū, shortening to ō, which is thus contrasted with ô (<*aw*), which by decrease of quantity changes its timbre to ū. Thus **yaqūš* > *yāqūš*, *labūš*, etc., but we also find *qatūl* forms which have become *qatōl*, as *yaqūš* (Ps. xci, 3) = *yaqōš* (Hos. ix, 8). On shortening we find instances in which ū > ō > ŭ as *yāqūm*, jussive *yāqōm*, with Waw *yayyāqŏm*, but these are cases of ū produced by contraction (cf. 52) or by lengthening (cf. 48), not cases of original ū.

(*d*) *Aramaic*

Original ū̆ is preserved in Bib. Aram. and West Syriac, but becomes ŏ in East Syriac, thus *ζωνάριον* = West Syriac *zūnōrō*, East Syriac *zōnārā*. In neo-Syriac, especially amongst the Jews of Zakhu and in Alqosh, it has a sound of ū inclining towards ō.

(*e*) *Assyrian*

In later forms ū tends to become ǖ and so inclines towards ī/ē.

THE SHORT VOWELS

46 (iv) Short ă

(*a*) *Arabic*

In classical Arabic ă must be retained when in contact with a laryngal, it becomes å/ŏ in contact with an emphatic, and may become ä̆/ĕ in other cases. The traditional rules already given in connexion with long ā apply equally to ă, and are based, as already noted, on the questionable theory that Imale is due to assimilation to a neighbouring ī̆ or *y* (cf. 43, i, *a*, *β*).

In Arabic dialect the change of ă to ä̆, ĕ, ĭ—the last chiefly in South Arabia and North Africa—occurs freely when there is not a laryngal or emphatic in contact, but its operation is somewhat irregular, and differences occur not only as between different countries, but in districts quite near one another. Thus Syrian dialect *ǧemel* (*ǧamal*) “ camel ”, *’ent* “ thou ” ; Egypt *sämă* “ heaven ”, *kelb* “ dog ”, *’enta* “ thou ” ; ‘Iraq *keteb* (*kataba*) “ he wrote ”, *šems* “ sun ”, *beled* “ country ” ; Oman *swed* (*’aswad*) “ black ”, *’ene* “ I ”, *huwe* “ he ”, *merkeb* “ ship ” ; Tripoli *’äne* “ I ”, *’enta* “ thou ”, *šams* “ sun ” ; Mehri *iswid* “ black ”, *milik* “ king ” ; Maltese *šemš* “ sun ”, etc., a list which might be extended very considerably. Willmore’s remark already quoted (cf. 43) does not apply to short *ă* where the Imale is extremely common unless prevented by a neighbouring consonant.

Change of *ă* to *ŏ* is generally due to the influence of a neighbouring emphatic (cf. 53), but accented *ắ* becomes *ō* in South Arabia as described above (cf. 43 *a*, *a*), thus Mehri *’arbaʿat* > *rbŏ́t* “ four ”, *ʿašr-* > *ŏ́šer* “ ten ”, *ġalaqa* “ go away ”, fem. *ġalaqat* > *ġalqŏ́t*, *sabʿ-* > *hŏ́ba* “ seven ”, *barq-* > *bŏ́rĕq* “ lightning ”, etc.

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

Geʿez generally preserves short *ă*, thus *qatala* “ he killed ”, *malāk* “ angel ”, etc., but occasionally Imale occurs as in *neḥna* for **naḥna* “ we ”. This Imale becomes more frequent in the later dialects, as Tigré *’anta* > *’enta* “ thou ”, so *’enti*, *’entum*, *’enten* ; Tigriña *neḥna* as in Geʿez ; Amharic *’ana* > *’ennih* “ I ”, suffix -*nă* (for -*nā*) often -*n ĕ*, *qatala* > *qital*, etc.

(*c*) *Hebrew*

Before examining any of the short vowels in Hebrew or Aramaic careful note must be made of the syllabic constitution and the influence of the accent. The opening or closing of syllables, and the incidence or removal of the tone and of the pausal accents, account for changes of quantity in the original short vowels, and to a less extent for their change in timbre.

(i) *Preservation of original ă*

Original *ă* is preserved (*a*) in a doubly closed unaccented syllable not initial, as *qataltum* > *q'taltĕ́m*, and nouns of the type *qattal* as *sabbaθ gannab* " thief ", etc. But *qattala* > *qittēl* where the original vocalization is completely changed, a change which can be explained by noting that the perfect has been assimilated to the imperfect in the derived verb stems. Very often even in nouns the initial syllable shows *ă* changed to *ĭ* in double closure, thus *y̨aqtúl* > *yiqtŏ́l*, **haqtala* > *hiqtĭ́l* (stem vowel affected by imperfect), **hatqattala* > *hiθqattēl*, etc. Sometimes *ă* is preserved by doubling the following consonant so as to produce double closure, a method more common with *ĭ* and *ŭ* than with *ă*, thus *hă-* in *hămmĕlĕk*, etc.

(β) In a closed accented syllable in verbs as *qatắl*, the stronger accent in nouns and in pause increasing this to *ā*, as noun *ḥakám*, pausal *qāṭál*.

(γ) Occasionally in an accented syllable in nouns such as *sūgắr* " cage " (Ezek. xix, 9), which appear to be Aramaic loan words.

(ii) *Change of timbre*

In Hebrew *ă* becomes *ĕ*/*ĭ* as in the Arabic Imale, but this change is confined to closed unaccented syllables, and to the first syllable of nouns of the type *qắṭl*, which has been opened by the insertion of a vowel producing *qĕ́ṭĕl*. Perhaps this *ĕ* in *qatl* is due to assimilation, as *qatl* > *qatel* > *qĕtĕ́l*. In either case the change to *ĕ*/*ĭ* is prevented by a laryngal in contact (cf. 53). Thus *yăqtŭ́l* > *yiqtŏ́l*, etc.

(*a*) In a closed unaccented syllable the Masoretic pointing varies between *ĭ* and *ĕ*, and we can see no reason why we have *š^{e}'ĕltem* in 1 Sam. xxv, 5, and *š^{e}'ĭltiv* in 1 Sam. i, 20. So Arabic *yădkum* = Hebrew *yĕdkem*, but *yaryat* > *qirya*. But this change to *ĕ*/*ĭ* was not made in the time of the LXX or of

St. Jerome, thus Hebrew (M.T.) *Mibṣar* = *Μαβσαρις*, *Migdōl* = *Μαγδολον* (in Hdt. ii, 159), *Midbār* = *Μαδβερ*, *Miktāb* = Vulg. *Machtab*, *Bilʿām* = LXX *Βαλααμ*.

(*b*) In the case of *qatl* the change is undoubtedly one of later date. The form *qatl* with the last consonant unvocalized by the disuse of the case endings necessarily inserted a vowel which usually was weak *ĕ* (cf. 68), unless before or after a laryngal (cf. 53), in which case it was *ă*, thus *malk* > *mĕlĕk*, *zarʿ* > *zĕrăʿ*, etc. We would have expected the *ă* in the accented and now opened syllable to become *ā*, but this increase does not take place, and in due course *ă* becomes *ĕ* presumably by assimilation, and the change is extended by analogy to cases where *ă* was inserted. Thus **šamš* (Arabic *šams*) became **šămĕš* and so appears in the LXX *Βεθσαμης* (Joshua xv, 10), but *šĕmĕš* in the M.T. So **Ḥabr* (Gen. xlvi, 17) became *Ḥaber*, and thus LXX *Ἄβερ* and *Χαβερ* as well as Vulg. *Haber*, but M.T. *Ḥĕbĕr*. In **Barʿ* (Gen. xiv, 2) the final laryngal produces *Baraʿ*, and so we have LXX *Βαρα* (E. text) or *Βαλλα* (A.D. texts), Vulg. *Bara*, but M.T. *Bĕrăʿ*. An increase of accent, however, raises this *ĕ* to *ā* as *ʼereṣ*, *ʼāreṣ* (Jer. xxii, 29, in pause). Final *-ay* also after becoming *-ē* appears finally as *-ĕ*, thus *ʼeqrāʼĕ* (1 Sam. xxviii, 15).

(iii) *Change of quantity*

(*a*) Short *ă* is raised to *ā* usually in an accented syllable in nouns, as **zakar* (Arabic *d̲h̲akar*) > *zākár* "male", **sullām* > *sullā́m* "ladder", **zahab* (Arabic *d̲h̲ahab*) > *zāhā́b* "gold", etc.; in an open syllable before an accented vowel originally short, as *qāṭā́l*, *zākā́r*, etc., and sometimes before accented long as *kābṓd* "honour", *šālṓm* "peace", etc.; by the increased accent in pause as *qāṭā́l*, etc., and in compensation by the opening of a closed syllable, as *yᵉbārēk*, where the syllable should be closed by the doubling of the medial radical as in *yᵉqattel*, but becomes open by the incapacity of a laryngal or *r* to be doubled. When, however, the syllable is opened by the decay of א closure even though subsequently closed by the loss of the case vowel, etc., we sometimes find *ă* > *ā* > *ō* as in **ră’š* > *rōš* “ head ” ; in such forms presumably the opening of the syllable took place at a very early date, and so resultant *ā* was established before the change of *ā* to *ō*. On the other hand, *da’g* > *dāg* “ fish ”.

(*β*) Short *ă* is decreased to a half-vowel ᵃ or ᵉ sometimes in an open syllable before an accented vowel originally long, and always in an open syllable second before an accented vowel originally short, as *pᵉrí* “ fruit ”, but *šālóm* “ peace ”, so *ḥᵃlóm* “ dream ”, *qᵉtalkĕ́m*, etc. In pause this half-vowel is raised to *ĕ* as *pĕrī*, but the timbre *ă* is preserved by a laryngal preceding (cf. 53).

(*d*) *Aramaic*

In Aramaic accented short *ă* in a closed syllable is retained, thus *qatắl* > *qᵉṭắl*, so *ḥᵃda* “ new ”, emph. *hᵉdtā*. Accented *ă* in an open syllable in nouns of the type *qatl* loses its accent, which passes on to the inserted vowel, an inevitable result of the syllabic constitution in Aramaic, thus **kắlb* > *kᵉlĕ́b*, **mắlk* > *mᵉlĕ́k*, etc. In an open unaccented syllable either the vowel is lost, or the syllable is closed, or the vowel if remaining in an open syllable becomes a half-vowel, thus *qatắl* > *qᵉṭắl*, **kasp* > *kᵉsef*, *kaspấ* “ silver ” (Dan. ii, 32), *šamš* > *šimšā* “ sun ” (Dan. vi, 15), *baśar* > *bᵉśar*, *biśrấ* “ flesh ” (Dan. ii, 11), etc. In Syriac *ă* may be retained or it becomes *ĕ* in an unaccented closed syllable, thus *malkấ* “ king ”, *’egartấ* “ letter ”, Bib. Aram. *’iggᵉrấ*, *yaqtul* > *neqtul*, *dakar* > *dekrấ*. The change to *ĕ* is commoner in West Syriac, it more often remains *ă* in East Syriac. In Mandæan and Onq. *ă* in this position is retained or else becomes *ĭ*. Thus Galilæan *mĭlḥā* “ salt ” (Hebrew *mălaḥ*), *’ĭbbā* “ father ”, *ṣifrā* “ morning ”, etc.

(*e*) *Assyrian*

Original *ă* is generally retained in Assyrian, but in later forms it sometimes becomes *ĕ*/*ĭ*.

47 (v) Short vowel ĭ

(*a*) *Arabic*

Although short *ĭ* is retained in classical Arabic, its sound inclines to *ĕ* with a laryngal (cf. 57); thus *ġišš* > *ġešš*, *ʿilm* > *ʿelm*, etc., a tendency which becomes more pronounced in dialect, and it inclines to *ü* with an emphatic, as *niṣf* > *nüṣf* " half ". In dialect it generally becomes *ĕ* in an unaccented syllable, as *tisʿat* > *tesʿod* " nine " (Morocco), *yišūf* > *yešūf* " he sees " (Egypt), *sittat* > *settā* " six " (Morocco), etc. This change is regular in Syria except in *-iy* or final *-ĭ*, thus *-kĕn* for *-kĭn*, etc.

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

In Abyssinian *ĭ* becomes *ĕ* and thus is confused with *ŭ*, which also becomes *ĕ*. Thus **lisān* (Arabic *lisān*) > *lesān* " tongue ", etc. But in a doubly closed syllable *ĭ* becomes *ă*, as **labisa* > *labĕsa* or *labsa*, 2nd sing. masc. *labăska*. Short *ĭ* is re-introduced into Amharic but does not correspond with common Semitic *ĭ*.

(*c*) *Hebrew*

(1) In compensatory lengthening caused by the opening of a closed syllable *ĭ* becomes *ē*, thus **birrēk* > *bērēk*, so **mālĭʼ* > *mālē*. Thus we have either *yiyraš* or *yerēš*.

(2) In an accented syllable open or simply closed *ĭ* > *ē*, as *sĭfr-* absolute *sḗfĕr*, opened by the addition of the inserted vowel (cf. 68), *kăbĭd* > *kābḗd*. Sometimes, however, we find an alternative *ī* resulting from more strongly accented *ĭ*, which will decrease to *ē* by removal of the accent or by double closure. Thus in the causative *yaqtīl*, decreasing to *ē* in double closure *taqtēlnā* and in the jussive *yaqtēl* and

imperative *haqtēl*. Very rarely accented *ĭ* is preserved as in *bĭn* (Deut. xxv, 2) for the commoner *bēn* ; so in the particles *'ĭm*, *mĭn*, *'ĭm*.

(3) In an accented doubly closed syllable *ĭ* becomes *ă*, as *kābḗd* (for *kăbĭd*), *kabădtā*, so **bint* > **bănt* > *băθ*, *bĭttī* ; Arabic *ṣiddīq* = Hebrew *ṣaddīq*. So in pause *ḥēθēz* becomes *ḥēθăz* (Isa. xviii, 5).

(4) In a closed unaccented syllable *ĭ* is preserved without change of quantity or timbre, as *sĭfrī*, *sĭfrēkem*, *'immī*, etc. But original *ĭ* becomes *ĕ* after it has become *ē* or half-vowel, and is then by change of accent restored to a short vowel. Thus *ĕ* can result as a shortening of *ē*, or lengthening of ᵉ, the original *ĭ* from which these vowels were produced being forgotten ; there is no confusion between *ĭ* and *ĕ* here in the way there is between *ĕ* and *ĭ* resulting from the Imale of *ă*. Thus **yayšĭb* (for *yawšib*) becomes *yēsēb*, then as the accent recedes with prefixed Waw *wayyésĕb*. By the medium of the half-vowel we have some (rarer) forms such as **šikm* (whence *šikmī*, etc.), *šᵉkĕm* "shoulder", in pause *šĕkĕm* (Ps. xxi, 3), and in the proper noun *šĕkmā* "towards Shechem" (Hos. vi, 9), but Vulg. *Sichem*.

(5) In an open unaccented syllable *ĭ* may become long *ī*, or it may be preserved by doubling the following consonant and so closing the syllable, thus **qĭmāš* "nettle" as *qīmōš* (Hos. ix, 6), *qĭmmōš* (Isa. xxxiv, 13). This closure by doubling the following consonant is more frequent than with *ă*, but not so common as with *ŭ*. Thus in the verb *yasbub* > *yasub(b)* (cf. 74) we may have either *yāsōb*, the *ă* lengthened in an open syllable (cf. 46, *c*, iii), or *yă-* may become *yĭ-* in the normal course and then produce *yĭssōb* to preserve short *ĭ* ; in *tĭsbī* such a doubling is unnecessary as the syllable is already doubly closed.

(6) But in an open syllable before an original long vowel *ĭ*

may become a half-vowel, and this is the regular course in an open syllable second before an accented short. But after א the half-vowel becomes *ē* by the compensatory lengthening already described. Thus *sifr-* > *s^{e}fārī́m*, Arabic *bišārat* = Hebrew *b^{e}sōrā̆* "good news".

(*d*) *Aramaic*

In Bib. Aram. *ĭ* varies between *ĭ* and *ē* in an accented syllable simply closed, thus **šaliṭ* > *s^{e}lēṭ*, **săgĭr* > *s^{e}gĭr*. In closed accented medial or final, if originally closed, and always if doubly closed, *ĭ* > *ă*, thus *namir* (Hebrew *nāmḗr*) > *n^{e}mar*, *bint* > *baθ* (*batt*), *kabī́da* > *k^{e}bḗd*, so *b$^{e`}$ēš* (Dan. vi, 15), *'ākḗm* (Dan. iv, 6). In closed unaccented syllables *ĭ* is retained as *sippar* > *siff^{e}r-īn*, *'illī*, etc.

In Syriac *ĭ* becomes *ĕ*, but *ĭ* is sometimes retained near a sibilant (cf. 58), thus *naqif* > *n^{e}qef*, *ṣĭppar* > *ṣĕffar*, etc. In the Targums *ĭ* becomes *ē* in unaccented open syllables.

(*e*) *Assyrian*

In Assyrian *ĭ* is unchanged unless affected by a neighbouring consonant.

48 (vi) Short vowel ŭ

(*a*) *Arabic*

Near the emphatic letters or the laryngals *ŭ* is sounded as *ŏ*. In the dialect of Oman this *ŏ* sound is extended to *ŭ* in all noun forms, as *'ŭqāb* > *'ŏqāb*, etc. So in dialect *-kuma* > *-kon* (Syria), *-hum* > *-hom* (Haḍr.). In doubly closed syllables in dialect *ŭ* sometimes becomes *ĭ*, thus *dubb* > *dibb* "bear" (Egypt), *summ* > *simm* "eye of a needle" (id.), *Qubṭiyy* > *Qibṭi* "Copt" (id.), *kul* > *kil* "cat" (Oman), *hunaka* > *hinak* "there" ('Iraq).

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

In Abyssinian *ŭ* becomes *ĕ* and so confuses with *ĭ*, thus **lŭbb* > *lĕbb* "heart", Arabic *'ud̲h̲n* = *'ĕzn* "ear", *sukār* (pass. infin.) > *sekār* as verbal noun "drunkenness". In Tigriña *ŭ* sometimes becomes *ō* in the syllable *-ōm*, as *nesōm*, etc.

(c) *Hebrew*

(1) In compensatory lengthening at the opening of a closed syllable *ŭ* > *ō*, thus *burrak* > *bōrak* (cf. 12).

(2) In an accented syllable open or closed *ŭ* > *ō*, thus **ʿăgŭ́l* > *ʿāgṓl*, Arabic *quds* = Hebrew *qōdĕš* "holy", Arabic *kull* = Hebrew *kōl(l)*, **qaṭŭ́n* > *qaṭōn*. The *ĕ* which appears in the pronoun *ʾattĕm*, in the personal termination *-tĕm*, and in the suffix *-kĕm*, must not be regarded as a modification of original *ŭ* but as produced by the analogy of the corresponding feminine, just as in Arabic the fem. *ʾantunna*, *-tunna*, *-kunna*, of the 2nd plur. fem. is affected by the influence of the masc. The original *ĭ* of the fem. appears in Arabic dialect, and in Assyrian masc. *attunu*, fem. *attina*. Parallel to this change in Hebrew is the use of the fem. sing. *enti* in Tunis for the masc., and so *ntîn* in Tlemsen.

(3) In an unaccented open syllable before the accent *ŭ* normally becomes *ō*, as **šuʿar* > *šōʿắr* "bad" (Jer. xxix, 17), but occasionally in older forms such as proper names we find *ŭ́* > *ū́* in this position as *ṣūʿăr* (Num. i, 8 ; ii, 5).

Alternative to this is the closure of the syllable by doubling the following consonant, and thus we have *yŭssab* as alternative for *yusab* for *yusab* = *yusbab* (cf. 157).

(4) Second before an accented vowel originally short *ŭ* becomes half-vowel, like *ă*, *ĭ*, in the same position, its timbre as ^{o} being preserved after a laryngal or velar, thus **qudš* > *qōdeš*, plur. *q*^{o}*dāšîm*, so *pōʿal*, *p*^{e}*ʿālîm*, and similarly *ŭ* becomes half-vowel before accented long, as **ḥuly-* > **ḥulī* > *ḥ*^{o}*lī*, in pause *hōlī*.

(5) In a closed unaccented syllable the Babylonian pointing preserves *ŭ*, but the Tiberian pointing, which is that found in the printed text, varies between *ŭ* and *ŏ*, so that sometimes both appear in different passages in the same word, thus in Isa. xxvii, 11, *y*^{e}*ḥunnēnū*, but the same word as *y*^{e}*ḥonnēnū* in Ps. lxvii, 2. Thus *quttal* remains *quttal*, but *huqtal* becomes *hŏqtal*. Generally *ŏ* appears where *ŭ* has been raised to *ō* by the accent and then reduced by the passing of the accent, as *quds* > *qōdeš*, *qŏdšī*, and so when *ŭ* has been reduced to half-vowel, i.e. after a laryngal, as *ḥ*^{o}*li*, *ḥŏlyō*, in pause *hōlī*, which practically gives the same consonant influence as in Arabic (cf. above). On the other hand, *ruqq* becomes *roq*(*q*), *ruqqō*.

(d) Aramaic

(1) In an accented syllable *ŭ* is generally preserved, and so in a closed accented. This is the case in Bib. Aram. in nouns of the *qutl* type, and so in noun forms as *kuθlayyā* (Ezra v, 8), *ḥ*^{a}*nukkaθ* (construct, Dan. iii, 2), but *ŏ* in *ḥŏkmā* " wisdom ", *'ŏrḥāθāk* (Dan. v, 23), and in verb forms as *honḥaθ* (or *h*^{o}*nḥaθ*, Dan. v, 20) for **hunḥat*.

In nouns *ŭ* becomes *ō* in an open accented syllable as *hăšōk* (type *qatul*, Dan. ii, 22), and *ū* in closed accented as *'*^{e}*sūr* (Dan. iv, 12).

(2) In Syriac *u* is preserved in a closed syllable in West Syriac, but becomes *o* in East Syriac (cf. 45), thus *yaqtul* > West Syriac *neqtul*, East Syriac *neqtol*, Arabic *kurrasat* " little book " > West Syriac *kurrōsō*, East Syriac *korrāsā*. In open accented *u* becomes West Syriac *ō* and East Syriac *ā* (cf. 45).

(3) In the Targums *ŭ* is retained in the verb in an open accented, as *q*^{e}*tŭlū*, but is rare in closed unaccented. In closed accented *u* > *ō*, rarely *ŭ* retained, thus *yiqtōl*, *-kum* > *-kōn*.

(4) Mandæan confuses *u* and *o*. In neo-Syriac *u* frequently becomes *e*/*i*.

(*e*) *Assyrian*

In later Assyrian *u* sometimes becomes *i*, thus older *putāqu* appears later as *pitēqu*.

49 (vii) Diphthong ay

(*a*) *Arabic*

The diphthong *ay* is normally retained in classical Arabic, the only exceptions being found in the combinations *-aya-*, *-ayi-*, etc. (cf. 52), and in such noun forms as **talay-*, which become *talā-*, and in double closure where *ay* > *ă*, as *laysa* " is not ", *lăsta* " thou wast not ".

In dialect *ay* commonly becomes *ē*, and in North Africa and sometimes in Egypt this frequently results in *ī*, except in those instances where *ay* is retained under the influence of a neighbouring laryngal or emphatic (cf. 54). Thus *bayt* " house " > *bēt* (ʽIraq, Egypt), *bīt* (Morocco); *ʽalaykum* " on you " > *ʽalēkum* (ʽIraq); *ǧanaynu*(*t*) " garden " > *genēna* (Egypt); *ḫayr* " wealth ", *khēr* (Oman), and so through all forms of dialect.

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

The diphthong *ay* is retained in a doubly closed accented syllable, before *y*, or near a laryngal, elsewhere it becomes *ē*. Thus *bayt* " house " > *bēt*, *laylat* " night " > *lēlat*, *'aytē* " where ? " *haymānōt* " faith ", etc.

(*c*) *Hebrew*

The diphthong is retained in a closed accented syllable, but in an unaccented syllable or in an open syllable whether accented or not it becomes *ē*. In nouns of the *qatl* type with medial *y*, which retains its consonantal value, it is necessary to insert a short vowel before the final radical; normally the inserted vowel is *ĕ* (cf. 68), but under the influence of the preceding *y* this becomes *ĭ* and thus we get **bayt > bayĭth* “ house ”, etc., in the construct *bēth* and similarly **layl- > layil, lēl,* and in an open syllable *haykal > hēkal* “ temple ”, but this is sometimes restrained by analogy as in *baythā* “homewards”, *laylā* “ by night ”. In a final syllable as *‘aśray > ‘eśrē* “ ten ”, but also with resultant *-ē* shortened to *-ĕ*, as *qanay > qanĕ*, etc. Occasionally we find *ay* retained abnormally as in *’aysīrēm* “ I will chastise them ” (Hos. vii, 12).

(*d*) *Aramaic*

The conditions generally are the same as in Hebrew, thus *bayĭt* (= *bayt*) “ house ” constr. *bēth* (Dan. iv, 27), *hayil* constr. *hēl* “ craft ” (Dan. iii, 20), final accented as in *yib‘ē* (Dan. vi, 8). In Syriac *ay* is retained only in an open accented, thus *beth, baytha* “ house ”, and as in Hebrew *ay > ē* (East Syriac = *ī* West Syriac) in a final accented, as *neglē*. In modern East Syriac *ay* sounds as *ē* or *ei* (i.e. as *ei* in English *height*). In the Targums *ay* becomes *ē* in closed accented and thus we have, as in Hebrew, *layil*, constr. *lēl* “ night ”, *lelya* “ by night ”. In Mandæan and in West Syriac the resultant *ē* becomes *ī*, as *bīth* “ house ”, etc.

(*e*) *Assyrian*

In Assyrian the diphthong in the negative prefix *ay-* is retained, e.g. *ayka, ayna,* etc., but generally *ay* becomes *e* as *ayniq > ēniq*, etc., and sometimes *i* as *bit* “ house ”, and sometimes *ue* as *buet* “ house ”.

50 (viii) Diphthong aw

The diphthong *aw* shows a history very similar to that of *ay*, its tendency being to reduce to *ō* where *ay* becomes *ē*.

(*a*) *Arabic*

In classical Arabic *aw* is normally retained save in the combinations *awa*, *awi*, etc., described elsewhere (cf. p. 119). In dialect *aw* becomes *ō*, and often in North Africa and sometimes in Egypt this results in *ū* unless restrained by a neighbouring consonant (cf. 53). Thus *ǧawʻān* " hungry " > *ǧoʻān* (ʻIraq), *'awtād* " mountains " > *'ūtād* (Egypt), *yawm* " day " > *yōm* (Egypt, Syria, Morocco, etc.), *'awlād* " sons " > *'ūlād* (Morocco).

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

Generally *aw* > *ō*, but *aw* is retained in a doubly closed accented syllable and before *w*, thus **yawm* > *yōm* " to-day ", *mafawwes* " physician ", etc.

(*c*) *Hebrew*

The diphthong *aw* is usually retained in a closed accented syllable, but becomes *ō* in an open syllable or in closed accented, thus *tawk* > *tawĕk*, constr. *tōk*, suffixed *tōkī*. Here the consonant value of *w* requires the insertion of a vowel as in all *qatl* forms. Accented *aw* appears as *áw*, thus *wāw* " nail ", *sāw* (written שָׁוְא, Arabic سَوْء) " evil ", which appears as *săw* in Job xv, 31 (Kethib). But *aw* often becomes *ō* where its retention would have been expected, as *yawm* > *yōm* plur. *yāmīn* as though from sing. *yām* (cf. Targ. *y*^{e}*māmā*) ; sometimes we find both forms as *ʻăwlā* (2 Sam. iii, 24) and *ʻōlā* (Isa. lxi, 8). Very rarely *aw* is retained where *ō* would be expected, as in *šālawtī* " I am at ease " (Job iii, 26).

(*d*) *Aramaic*

Generally *aw* is retained in an open syllable but becomes *o*/*u* when the syllable is closed, thus *yawm* > West Syriac *yūm*, East Syriac *yōm*, *yawmá* " day ", but *yōm*, *yōmá* in Bib. Aram. (cf. Dan. vi, 11), and so Bib. Aram. *sōf*, *sōfá* " end ".

(*e*) *Assyrian*

The diphthong *aw* regularly becomes *ū*, thus *yawm* > *ūm-u*, *awsib* > *ūsib*, etc.

51 (ix) Contraction of vowels with semi-vowels

In treating of vowels with semi-vowels we have to consider (i) cases in which the semi-vowel is the closure of a syllable, and (ii) cases in which it is the initial either (*a*) following a closed syllable, or (*b*) following an open one.

(i) *Semi-vowel as closure of a syllable*

With semi-vowel as closure we may have *ay*, *aw*, *iy*, *iw*, *uy*, *uw*. Of these *ay* and *aw* are the two diphthongs which have been already considered ; *-iy* and *-uw* necessarily become *-ī* and *-ū*. The two remaining cases are *iw* and *uy*. In these either the vowel may assimilate to the semi-vowel so that *iw* > *uw* > *ū* and *uy* > *iy* > *ī*, which are treated elsewhere as vowels influenced by consonants (cf. 60) ; or the semi-vowel may assimilate to the vowel, *iw* > *iy* > *ī*, and *uy* > *uw* > *ū*, which have been treated as consonants influenced by vowels (cf. 40).

52 (ii) Semi-vowel as initial of a syllable

(*a*) *Following a closed syllable*

This gives the instances of *wa*, *ya*, *wi*, *yi*, *wu*, *yu*, after a consonant. If these groups are not maintained but contract to long vowels the syllabic structure of the word is completely altered, e.g. where *ya* becomes *ā* in *yahyabu* > *yahābu* the first syllable is opened and its former closure becomes the initial of a new syllable. It is with such changes as these that we are now concerned.

(1) *wa*, *ya* > *ā*

Arabic *yuqwalu* > *yuqālu*, *yusyalu* > *yusālu*, the resultant *ā* shortening to *ă* in the jussive *yuqăl*, *yusăl*. In North Africa _ya_ sometimes results in _ī_ as in initial _īmīn_ for _yamīn_ "right hand" (Morocco). Abyssinian _yabwa_ > _yebā_. Hebrew resultant _ā_ becomes _ō_ (cf. 43_c_) as _yabwa_ > _yābō_, _naqwam_ > _nāqōm_, _nabyan_ > _nābōn_, _yabwaš_ > _yēbōš_. Aramaic, _ā_ in Bib. Aram. and East Syriac, _ō_ in West Syriac _m_^{e}_qwam_ > _m_^{e}_qām_, _m_^{e}_qōm_; _m_^{e}_syam_ > _m_^{e}_sām_, _m_^{e}_sōm_. Assyrian _ibwa_ > _ibā_, _asyam_ > _asām_.

(2) _wi_, _yi_ > _ī_

Arabic _yuqwilu_ (imperf. conj. iv) > _yuqīlu_, _yasyiru_ > _yasīru_, shortening to _ĭ_ in the jussive: _wi_ > _yi_ > _yyi_ in _mawīt_ > _mayyit_. Abyssinian _yaswim_ > _yesīm_. Hebrew _yaswim_ > _yāsīm_, shortening in the jussive to _ē_, as _yāsēm_. Aramaic _yaswim_ > _n_^{e}_sīm_ in West Syriac and so _y_^{e}_sīm_ in Bib. Aram. East Syriac _n_^{e}_sem_. Assyrian _iṭwib_ > _iṭīb_, _ukwin_ > _ukīn_, _adyin_ > _adīn_.

(3) _wu_, _yu_ > _ū_

Arabic _yaqwulu_ > _yaqūlu_, shortening to _ŭ_ in the jussive. Abyssinian _yaqwum_ > _yeqūm_. Hebrew _yaqwum_ > _yāqūm_, _ū_ shortening to _ō_ in the jussive; also indicative in _ō_ and so identical with the jussive, as in _yēbōš_. Aramaic _yaqwum_ > _y_^{e}_qūm_ (Dan. vi, 20) shortening occurs only in _yadwŭran_ > _y_^{e}_dŭran_ (Dan. iv, 9, Q're), Syriac _n_^{e}_qūm_ (East Syriac _n_^{e}_qōm_).

(_b_) _Following an open syllable_

In this case there are two different methods of treatment, (1) that followed in Assyrian, Abyssinian, Hebrew, and Aramaic, and (2) an entirely different one followed in Arabic.

(i) _Abyssinian_

After a vowel the semi-vowel loses the vowel following and thus reduces to a diphthong, as _awa_, _awi_, _awu_, become _aw_ and _aya_, _ayi_, _ayu_, become _ay_, thus *_qawama_ > *_qawma_ > _qōma_, and *_šayama_ > *_šayma_ > _šēma_, etc. The only exception to this treatment is that in noun forms _iw_ is sometimes restored as *ew* by analogy with *aw* (cf. sect. 50), thus *zerew* or *zeru* " scattered ".

(ii) *Assyrian*

In the case of an intervocal semi-vowel Assyrian discards the preceding vowel, so that *awa, iwa, uwa* become *wa*, etc., and the resultant is treated as described above, thus *akawan* > *akwan* > *akān*, etc. But in the Permansive *wi* becomes *ē* instead of *ī*, as in *kēn* for *kawin*. In the Intensitive (D) the medial, though doubled, quiesces and then either (1) the two vowels are left and form a long vowel or diphthong, or (2) the first vowel falls away and the doubling fails, the resultant following the rules given above, thus from *uqayyis* we have either *uqais* or *uqīs*. But when a vowel suffix is added the final radical is doubled and the vowel shortened, as *utawwiru* > *utīru* > *utĭrru*. The Assyrian treatment of intervocal semi-vowels provides the key to the phenomena observed in Hebrew and Aramaic.

(iii) *Hebrew*

(1) *awa, aya* > *ā*, i.e. as *wa, ya* (cf. Assyrian), thus *qawam* > *qām*. But in noun forms this contraction presumably took place at an early date, so that resultant *ā* has become *ō*, as *ṭawab* > *ṭōb*. In double closure *ā* > *ŭ*, as *qŭmtā*.

(2) *awi* > *ē*, but *ayi* > *ī*. Thus *mawit* > *mēth*, *nawir* > *ner*, *bayin* > *bīn*, or else the *ayi* verb, which is comparatively rare, assimilates to the *aya* form as *bān*. In double closure *ī*/*ē* > *ĭ* > *ă* (cf. 47). In the active participle Qal the *āwi* becomes either (*a*) *ā* and so *ō*, as *lōṭ* (Isa. xxv, 7), or (*b*) *awi* > *ā'* (cf. Arabic *qāwil* > *qā'il*), and so *ā* as in *lāṭ* (Judges iv, 21).

(3) *awu, ayu* > *ā*, but *āwu, āyu* > *ū*, thus *bawuš* > *bōš*, *qawum* > *qūm*. In double closure resultant *ō* > *ŏ*, as in *bŏštā*.

(iv) *Aramaic*

(1) *awa, aya* > *ā* (Bib. Aram. or East Syriac), *ō* (West Syriac), as *qawam* > *qām*, *qōm*.

(2) *awi, ayi* > *ī* (Bib. Aram. and West Syriac), *ē* (East Syriac), as *sayim* > *sīm, sēm.*

(v) *Arabic*

Arabic shows a form of vowel contraction which differs from both the Abyssinian and the Assyrian-Hebrew types.

(1) No contraction takes place in the medial syllable of a word which has a semi-vowel medial and also a semi-vowel final, as *sawaya* > *sawā* " roast ".

(2) Later derivatives, such as denominal verbs, verbs specialized to express wonder, and elatives, show no contraction with medial semi-vowel. No contraction takes place with medial semi-vowel doubled, as *qawwala,* nor in conj. ii, as *qāwala* where *āwa* has been formed from *awwa* (cf. 135). No contraction takes place in *iya*, as *raḍiya*, but *iwa* becomes *iya*, or it may become *ā* (dialect of Tayyi), or *ī* (Mufaṣṣ. 120).

(3) *awa* > *ā,* as *qawala* > *qāla, nadhawa* > *nādha* ; so nouns such as *bawab* > *bāb* " door ". But this is not a pure *ā*, it inclines towards *å* > *ō* > *ū,* and so contraction in double closure will result in *ŭ* not *à*, as *qŭlta.*

(4) *awi, ayi, aya* > *ā,* but inclining to *ä* > *e,* and so shortening to *ĭ* in double closure, as *sayira* > *sāra, sĭrta* ; **yarḍaya* (subj.) > *yarḍā* ; *nawir* > *nār* " light " contrasted with Hebrew *nēr.*

(5) *awu, ayu* > *ā,* as *yundawu* > *yundā, yardayu* > *yardā, ṭawula* > *ṭāla.*

(6) *uwi, uyi, iyu* > *ī*, shortening to *ĭ* in double closure, as *quwila* > *qīla, qĭlta* ; *suyira* > *sīra, sĭrta* ; *yarmiyu* > *yarmī.*

(7) *uwu, uyu* > *ū,* as *yanduwu* > *yandū.*

In the active ptc. *āwi, āyi,* become *ā'i* as *qāwil* > *qā'il.* In common speech, however, *awā* often becomes *uwā,* as *ğuwār* for *ğawār* " female slaves " ; a few instances of this occur also in classical speech in proper names, as *ṣuwā'iq-u*, etc.

V

TEMPORARY MODIFICATIONS OF THE VOWEL SOUNDS

Temporary modifications of the vowel sounds are due to disturbing factors parallel to those which we have already noted in consonant changes. Such modifications may be produced by neighbouring consonants or by other vowels, and in the latter case the resultant changes may be classified as assimilative and dissimilative. We will consider first the phonetic influence of consonants on neighbouring vowels.

53 (i) Influence of consonants on vowels

In broad outline it may be said that the laryngals attract the vowel sound *a*, the dentals and sibilants attract *i*, the labials *u*, and the emphatic letters tend to modify *a* to *o*. In each case the outlet of the vowel sound is controlled by the disposition of the vocal organs due to the preceding or following consonant.

(*a*) *The* a *sound and the laryngals*

Imale is restrained or prevented by a preceding or following laryngal. In Arabic the Imale is prevented by preceding or following ‘, *h*, *ḥ*, *ḫ*, or velar *ġ*, but not by the weak laryngal Hamza; also by *r* preceded by *ā* or *ū*. But this preventative power is subject to certain restrictions: (*α*) the laryngal or *r* does not prevent Imale when it is the initial of a verb with medial or final *w*/*y*; (*β*) and with rare exceptions it is not effective unless the *a* is in contact with the laryngal. (*γ*) In the case of *r*, to prevent Imale of *ā* the *r* must be in actual contact, as *rasid*, etc., and it must not be vocalized with *i*, so Imale cannot occur in *'abṣārihim* " their eyes " (Qur'ān, ii, 6).

Yet against this influence we find a contrary principle in the modification of *ā* to *ä*, *e*, *i*, near a laryngal appearing occasionally in particular areas, as in the dialects of Egypt and North Africa, where after a laryngal, and more especially after *a*, suffers this Imale, thus *‘äsal* for *‘asal* "honey" (Egypt), *‘elm* for *‘alima* " know " (Tunis).

In Hebrew where *ă* in an unaccented closed syllable becomes *ĕ*/*ĭ*, and in the imperfect preformative usually *ĭ*, a laryngal produces *ĕ*, as *'ĕqṭōl*, *yeḥ*^{a}*baš*.

In Assyrian *a'* becomes *ē* by the fall of א (but cf. 43, *e*), as **ra'š* > *rēš-u*, *ba‘al* > **ba'al* > *bēl* ; and so *ĭ* frequently becomes *ĕ* before *r*, *ḫ*, as in *unammera*, *tameiḫ* (Delitzsch, *Ass. Gr.*, 44).

54 (b) Vowels ĭ/ŭ become ă near a laryngal

In the imperfect of verbs with *ă* as vowel of the medial radical in the perfect we usually find *ĭ* or *ŭ*, but where the medial or final radical is a laryngal the imperfect has *a*. Thus *qatala*, *yaqtul*, *ǧalasa*, *yaǧlis*, but *fa‘ala*, *yaf‘al*, and *qaṭa‘a*, *yaqṭa‘*. So in Abyssinian *qatala*, *yeqtel*, but *fataḥa*, *yeftaḥ*. Similarly in Hebrew *šāḥaṭ*, *yišḥaṭ* and *šālaḥ*, *yišlaḥ*. In Bib. Aram. *š*^{e}*laḥ*, *yišlaḥ* (Ezra v, 17).

In Arabic dialect *ĭ*/*ŭ* before or after a laryngal tends to become *ă* ; thus *miḥrab* > *maḥrab* " prayer niche " (Egypt), *‘inab* " grape " > *‘aneb* (‘Iraq), *‘anab* (Morocco) ; *'uṣbu‘* " finger " > *ṣeba‘* (Maltese), *ṣāba‘* (Morocco), *'aṣaba‘* (id.).

In Hebrew and Aramaic the short vowel *ĕ*(*ĭ*) normally inserted after the medial to vocalize nouns of the type *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*, becomes *ă* with a medial or final laryngal, thus *malk-* > *mĕlĕkh*, but *zar‘* > *zĕră‘*, Aramaic *z*^{e}*ra‘* " seed ", *rumḥ* > Hebrew *rōmaḥ*, Syriac *rumaḥ*.

55 (c) Long vowels ī/ū insert ă before a laryngal

In disposing the vocal organs to enunciate a laryngal following long *ī* or *ū* the timbre of the vowel sound is modified and a glide is made which gives the sound of *ă*. Thus in Arabic dialect *rīḥ* becomes *rīăḥ* "wind" (Egyptian). Occasionally in dialect this occurs also with *ĭ/ŭ*, thus *'uṣbu'* > *ṣboa'* "finger" (Tunisian dialect). In Hebrew *ă* is inserted before *h*, *ḥ*, ', following *ī/ē* or *ū/ō*, as in *rūaḥ* "wind", *šālūăh* "sent", *gibōăh* "high". In the LXX this frequently appears as *e*, thus *yāfīă'* > *'Ιαφίε*, Vulg. *Japhie*, *Japhia*, *nōăḥ* > *Nῶε*, Vulg. *Noe*, or it is omitted as in *yānōăḥ* > *'Ιανώχ*, Vulg. *Janoe*.

56 (d) The ă sound with the emphatic consonants

We have so far noted the influence of laryngals on the timbre of vowels. Here we have to notice the influence of the emphatic consonants (cf. 9) on vowel *a*.

In Arabic, before or after the emphatic consonants *ṣ*, *ḍ*, *ṭ*, *ẓ*, *q*, the vowel sound *a* is thickened to *å*, *o*, and sometimes to *u*. Thus *ṣăbr* > *ṣåbr* "patience", *faṣal* > *fṣol* "chapter" (Algerian), *ḍaraba* > *ḍrob* "beat" (id.), etc. In Oman the imperfect of verbs with third radical emphatic (or *r*) shows vowel *o*, as *yöhqor*, *yunkor*, *yorqoṭ*. In the dialect of 'Iraq *a* becomes *o* near an emphatic, as *yaqifu* > *yógaf*. In North Africa *aw* > *aō* near a laryngal or emphatic, as *ṣawt* > *ṣaōt* "vine". In Arabic the use of the Imale is optional, but the thickening of *a* near an emphatic is obligatory.

57 (e) The i/u sounds with laryngals or emphatics

(i) Influence of an emphatic or laryngal on vowel *i*.

ĭ > *e/o* with an emphatic in Egypt, North Africa, and 'Iraq, as *qiṭṭa(t)*, *qoṭṭa* "cat" (Egypt).

ĭ > *ö* near an emphatic or laryngal in Syria and North Africa, in Tunis only after ' or *ḥ*; thus *ḥiṣn* > *ḥäṣn*, *ḥöṣn* "stronghold" (Syria), *kirš* > *körš* "origin" (Morocco).

i > *ă/e* or *ü/u* before or after an emphatic or laryngal, as *ḍirs* > *ḍurs* " molar tooth " (Syria), *niṣf* > *nüṣf* (*nüṣṣ*) " half ", *ḥimār* > *ḥumūr* " ass ".

In Syria *a* or *i* becomes *ü* with *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *q*, *h*, or ‘. In Mehri *ay*, *i* become *ai*, *ei*, near a laryngal. In neo-Syriac *a/i* becomes *ü* in the same syllable as *ṣ*, *ṭ*, *ḥ*, *q*, or ‘, but there are many exceptions, especially with *ṣ* ; ‘ modifies the vowel only in Alqosh and Kurdistan.

(ii) Influence of an emphatic or laryngal on vowel *u*.

ū̆ > *ō̆* near an emphatic or laryngal, as *sūq* > *sōq* " market ", *ẓufr* > *ẓofr* " claw ", *‘arūs* > *‘arōs* " bridegroom " (Morocco, Tunis, Tripoli) *‘umr* > *‘omr* " life " (Egypt). In Maltese *ŭ* followed by ‘, or *ġ* forms *ō* with loss of the laryngal, as *šŭġl* > *šōl* " business ".

(iii) Diphthong *aw* with emphatic or laryngal. In North Africa and sometimes in Egypt *aw* becomes *ū* instead of *ō*, but the presence of a neighbouring emphatic or laryngal restrains this change and preserves *ō*. In North Africa the emphatic consonants include in this relation not only *r* but also *l*. Thus *’aulād* > *’ōlād* (not *’ūlād*) " sons " (Morocco). In Mehri *aw* and *ō* become *au/ou* near a laryngal or emphatic.

58 (f) Influence of Sibilants and Dentals

Dentals and sibilants tend to attract the vowel *i*. Thus in the dialect of Oman the second vowel of a verb stem is usually *e/i* with a final radical dental, sibilant, *l* or *n* ; thus *ḥased*, *yŏḥsid*.

In Aramaic *a* frequently becomes *e* before a sibilant, thus *ră’š* > *rāš* > *rēš* " head ".

In Assyrian *ă* becomes *ĭ* with *s/š* as *asikin* for *asakan*, and near a dental *ă* tends to become *e/i*.

59 (g) Influence of the Labials

The general tendency is for the labials, amongst which we must include the sonant labial *m*, to attract the vowel *u*.

Thus in Arabic we frequently find change of *a/i* to *u* before a labial, as in *'umm* (Hebrew *'ēm*) for *'imm* " mother ", *ǧubl* for *ǧibl* " troop ", *fum* for *fam* " mouth " (Morocco), etc. Occasionally a similar change takes place after *m*, as *mulk* for *malk* " king " (Nejd), *muṭar* for *maṭar* " rain " (‘Iraq). In Abyssinian *ă/ĭ* becomes *ĕ* (= *ŭ*) before a labial in *nafs* > *nefs* " soul " ; Amharic *gamal* > *gemal* " camel ". In Hebrew the conjunction *wa-* becomes *ū-* before a labial or labial sonant, thus *ūmĕlĕkh*, etc. In Aramaic *a/i* sometimes become *u* before a labial or labial sonant, thus Hebrew *šēm*, Syriac *šem* > Bib. Aram. *šum* " name " ; Syriac *gamlâ* > Mandæan *gumlâ* " camel ". Arabic *ǧism* > Syriac *gusmâ* " body ". Occasionally this occurs after a labial, as Arabic *baraka*(*t*) > Syriac *burk*^{e}*tâ* " blessing ". Assyrian *a*, *e*, *i*, become *u* before a labial, as *šēm* > *šūm-u* " name ".

60 (h) Influence of semi-vowels

In the case of semi-vowels *w* is homogeneous to *u*, *y* to *i*.

uy > *iy* > *ī*, Arabic *bayt* " house ", dimin. *buyayt* or *biyayt* : *'abyaḍ* > " white ", plural *buyḍ* > *bīḍ* (Lane, *Lexicon*, 283).

yu >*yi*, *yumna* >*yimna* " right hand " (Socin, *Diwan*, ix, 6) in dialect of Nejd. So *mabyū‘* > *mabī‘* where *yū* > *yī* > *ī* (Lane, *Lexicon*, 285).

wi > *wu* > *ū* generally in Hebrew and Aramaic.

awa > *uwa* in common speech.

aw > *uw* > *ū*, sometimes in the dialect of Egypt and North Africa, as *'awtad* > *'ūtad* (Egypt). In Assyrian *yawm* > *ūm-u* " day ", *awšib* > *ūšib*, etc.

61 (j) Vowel assimilation assisted by a laryngal

(i) In the dialects of Egypt, Syria, and sometimes in that of Oman nouns of type *qatil* become *qitil* with a medial or final laryngal, thus Egyptian *wiḫis* " dirty ", *wiḥiš* " desert " (cf. 46, *a*). So in Nejd, ‘Iraq, Oman, and North Africa we find *qatil* > *qitil* > *qitl* under similar circumstances.

In Abyssinian *ĕ* (from *ĭ* or *ŭ*) becomes *ă* before a laryngal followed by *a*, thus *yeḥawer* becomes *yaḥawer*, and nouns of type *qŭttāl* become *qattāl* with medial laryngal. Similarly *ă-ū* becomes *ĕ-ū* (= *ŭ-ū*) when there is an intervening laryngal as *naša’ū* > *našĕ’ū* “ they removed ”, but no assimilation takes place when the laryngal is one of two consonants in contact as in *neḥnā* “ we ”.

In Hebrew when by reason of accentuation a short vowel becomes a half-vowel, this half-vowel retains its original timbre with a laryngal, as *’ădīn, ’ādín, ’ᵃdīnā* “ delicate ”, *’ĕl, ’él, ’ᵉlōhīm* “ God ”, **ḥŭly, ḥŏlī, ḥᵒlī* “ disease ”. When a syllable before the accent is closed by a laryngal, it is opened by adding a half-vowel, and this half-vowel assimilates in timbre to the vowel of the preceding syllable, thus חזק imperfect יֶחֱזַק, and when by further change of accent the new syllable is closed the inserted half-vowel becomes a short vowel as *yo‘ᵒbad, yo‘ŏbdū*, etc. With an intervening laryngal *ā-ĕ* becomes *ā-ā*, as in אֶרֶץ, הָאָרֶץ. In Hebrew and Aramaic *la-*, *ka-*, *wa-*, before a laryngal with a half-vowel assimilate in timbre to it, as כַּאֲרִי “ like a lion ”, לֵאמֹר, כַּחֲדָה (Dan. ii, 35), כֶּאֱנָשׁ (Dan. vii, 4); in the Targums this assimilation is irregular, and in later Aramaic and Syriac it has become obsolete.

62 (k) Change of quantity due to a laryngal

The Arabic dialect of Oman lengthens the final vowel in the units before *‘šer* (*‘ašara*) in the numerals 11–19. Thus *’ahada ‘ašara* becomes *hedā‘šer* “ eleven ”, etc. In Abyssinian the vowel is lengthened in a syllable closed by a laryngal, as *tufasāḥkū* for *tufasăḥkū* “ I rejoiced ”. In Hebrew and Aramaic laryngals and *r* are incapable of doubling and therefore all forms in which a laryngal or *r* should be doubled show a failure of the doubling with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, thus Hebrew *bērēkh* for **birrēkh*, etc.

63 (ii) Influence of vowels on vowels

(*a*) *Assimilation of vowels*

(1) *a-i* > *i-i*

Arabic, in the dialect of Egypt and to a less extent in that of Oman and ‘Iraq, verbs with *i* after the second radical tend to change *a* after the first to *i* also, thus *šariba* " drink " becomes *širib* (Egypt), *šereb* (‘Iraq), etc., a parallel change taking place in verbs with *u* (cf. (2) below). Sometimes this change is extended to conj. vii, viii, as *yinbirik* for *yanbarik* (Egypt). We have already noticed a similar change in nouns with a laryngal (cf. 61). In Abyssinian *a-e* > *e-e* with a laryngal between, or when the first vowel is in a doubly closed syllable, as *tefšeḥt* for *tafšeḥt* " gladness ", the *ĕ* standing for *ĭ*/*ŭ*. In Hebrew there are some instances in which nouns of type *qatil* become *qitil* as *šeber*, *šibrī* " breach ", and nouns *maqtil* become *miqtil* as *mizbēaḥ* " altar ".

The change of *a-ī* to *i-ī* is rare in Arabic, but we find in Spanish Arabic *midina* for *madina* " city ", possibly only an instance of Imale. Sometimes Abyssinian shows the change of *qatil* to *qetil* as in *leḥīq* " old ". In Assyrian there is frequently a change of *a* to *e* before final *-ī*, especially in verbs with third radical *-y*, as *ubennī* for *ubannī* ; so *aqṭarib* becomes *aqṭerib*.

(2) *a-u* > *u-u*

In Egypt, etc., verbs with second vowel *u* change *a* of the first radical to *u* by assimilation parallel to that in *i* verbs, thus *ṣuǧur* for *ṣaǧura* (Egypt), etc. So generally in quadriliterals of the type *qatlul* as *furhud* " short " for *farhud*, and similarly *tuhluk* for *tahluk* (type *taqtul*), etc. (cf. Wright, ***Ar. Gr.***, i, 115, C–116, A). Abyssinian shows a similar change in the passive participle *qetūl* for *qatūl*, and Tigré dialect regularly changes final *-a* to *-ĕ* (= *ŭ*) before suffixed *-hū* " his ". The change of *a-u* to *u-u* occurs also in Assyrian when the first *a* is in a closed syllable.

(3) *i-u* > *u-u*

This change occurs in Arabic in the imperative of the primary stem. Normally this stem, having no vowel after the first radical, prefixes *i-* (cf. 66), but before *u* in the stem we find *i* replaced by *u*, as *uqtul*. In dialect a vowel is inserted before a consonantal suffix as the case endings have become obsolete ; this is usually *-i-*, but before *-kum*, *-hum*, it is *u*, as *'umm-u-kum* " your mother " (Egypt). So in the Assyrian imperative, a vowel is inserted after the first radical and this assimilates to the stem vowel, as *kušud* for **kšud*. In Babylonian (not Ḫammurabi) we find *izuzzum* > *uzuzzum*, *itulum* > *utulum*.

(4) *Assimilation of the second to the first*

This is much less common in vowel assimilation. In Arabic the suffixes *-hu*, *-hum*, *-hunna* become *-hi*, *-him*, *-hinna* after *-i* or *-ay* as *ʿalayhim* " upon them ", but such assimilation is not always observed in dialect. In Assyrian *a* often becomes *e*/*i* after *i*, *e*, *ü*, thus *bēlat* becomes *bēlit* " mistress ", *imāru* > *imēru* " ass ".

64 (b) Dissimilation of vowels

(1) *a-a* > *i-a*

Thus in Arabic in plurals of the type *qatlān* which become *qitlan*, as *ǧanna* " garden ", pl. *ǧinān*. In Syrian dialect *naḥnā* (vulg. for *naḥnu*) becomes *niḥnā* " we ", and in Nejd *ʿašara* becomes *ʿašira* " ten " in compounds.

(2) *i-i* > *a-i*

In Arabic adjectives in *-īy* from nouns of type ***qatil***, ***qatilat***, change *i* of the stem to *a*, as ***kabid*** " liver ", adj. ***kabadīy***, but there is no change if the substantive has more than three consonants, as *Yaṯhrib* (ancient name of Medina), adj. *Yaṯhribiy*. In Hebrew *bēn* (*bin*) " son ", plur. *binīm* becomes *banīm*.

(3) *o-o* > *i-o*

Aramaic *νόμος* > *nimos* (T.B. Gittin, 6).

(4) *a-a* > *a-i*

This appears in Mehri in nouns of type *qātal* which become *qātil*, as *'āsag* > *'ōsig* (accented *á* as *ō*, cf. 43, *a*, *a*) " box thorn or lycium ". In Hebrew and Aramaic *a-a-a* becomes *a-a-e*.

(5) *Dissimilative change in quantity*

In Abyssinian we find a dissimilative change in vowel quantity in *ĭ-ī* for *ī-ī*, as in plural *-nī* followed by the suffix *-kī*, e.g. *keburanĕkī* " thy kinsmen ", *qatalkĕnī* " thou hast slain me ", etc. Similarly *ī-ya* becomes *ĭ-ya* as in *keburanĕya* for *keburanīya*, in each case as always *ĕ* appearing for short *ĭ*.

(6) *Dissimilation of vowels from semi-vowels*

With *y* Arabic changes *i* to *a* in plurals of type *qatālā* where the third radical is *y*, thus *manāyā* for *manā'iyu* from singular *manīyā* (cf. Wright, *Ar. Gr.*, i, 222, C–D).

In Aramaic *uww* becomes *iww* or *eww* in adjectives of type *quttal* with medial *w*, thus Bib. Aram. *ḥiwwar*, Syr. *ḥewwar* " white ", it being assumed that adjectives denoting colour are as *'ukām* " black ", *yurāq* " green ", etc.

VI

TEMPORARY SYLLABIC CHANGES

65 (I) Formation of new syllables by the use of prosthetic or inserted vowels

A consonant may stand either at the beginning or at the end of a syllable. In consecutive speech, therefore, two consonants may be in contact, the one as the closure of a syllable, the other as the initial of the following syllable, the former vocalized by a preceding vowel, the latter by a vowel following. But there cannot be three consonants in contact, for the middle one would have no vowel, nor are two consonants in contact in inception, i.e. after pause, nor in closure before pause, for in inception the first would be vowelless, and in closure this would be the case with the second. Thus we have three conditions to consider—(i) a group of two consonants in inception, (ii) a group of three in continuous speech, and (iii) a group of two at pause.

66 (i) A group of two consonants in inception

This appears sometimes in the natural form of the stem, as *_qtul_ imperative "slay", in foreign words as *_qlim_ = _κλίμα_, or as the result of vowel elision as when _na-_ becomes _n-_ in _nqatala_.

(_a_) _Arabic_

Three methods of treatment are possible—(1) one of the consonants may be elided, which is rare; or (2) a prosthetic vowel may be added; or (3) a vowel may be inserted. When a prosthetic vowel is used it is normally _i-_, but before _u_ it becomes *u*- by assimilation. A prosthetic vowel is only a temporary expedient, and so it falls away when no longer needed, as, for example, when it follows after another word which ends in a vowel, for this vowel naturally vocalizes the first consonant of the word following. After silence the prosthetic vowel must be preceded by Hamza, for a syllable must commence with a consonant. Thus after pause *nqatala* becomes *'inqatala*, so the article *-l-* (for *la-*), which may be vocalized by the final vowel of a preceding word, or, if that word end in a consonant, it becomes *-il-*, although it sometimes happens that the preceding word revives an obsolete vowel ending in this position as *mudh*, which becomes *mud̲h̲u* because originally from *mund̲h̲u*, but after silence the article becomes *'al-*, the *a* prefixed to vocalize the *-l-*, and the Hamza prefixed to it to provide the necessary consonant beginning of a syllable. A few nouns also occur which commence with two consonants and so add a prosthetic *i*- if they follow a consonant or silence, and in this latter case prefix also a Hamza; such are *bn*- " son ", *t̲h̲n*- (in *it̲h̲nāni*) " two ", *st*- " anus ", *sm*- " name ", *mra'* (fem. *imra'at*) " man ", and thus *'ibn*, etc.

In loan words commencing with two consonants sometimes one is omitted, as Greek *ζίφος* >**ksif*>*sīf* " sword ", but, as we have already remarked, this is a rare method. More often a prosthetic vowel is added, either *ĭ*-, or less commonly *ă*/*ŭ* by assimilation, and this is preceded by a permanent Hamza which becomes part of the stem irrespective of whether the word follows pause or is in consecutive speech; thus Greek *πλάτων* > *'aflătūn*, *κλίμα* > *'iqlim*, *στόλος* > *'isṭūl*, *σπόγγος* > *'isfinǧ* (Syrian dialect), etc.

In dialects which have been in contact with non-Semitic influences, such as those of 'Iraq, North Africa, and of the large towns with a cosmopolitan population, an initial group can often be pronounced by the insertion of a half-vowel (cf. Hebrew *infra*) or by the vocalization of a sonant, which is not really a Semitic expedient. Thus a Cairene can sound initial groups *br-*, *gr-*, *fr-*, *kr-*, *gl-*, as in *krumb* " cabbage ", and this is more especially the case with persons who have been educated under European teachers. In Oman a prosthetic vowel is often omitted, more particularly when the resultant group contains a sonant, semi-vowel, or labial, thus *swed* for *'aswad* " black ", *byaḍ* for *'abyaḍ* " white ", etc.; but when the resultant does not contain a consonant of these kinds a full vowel is usually inserted, as *ḫit* for *'aḫt-* " sister ", although we find such forms as *škur* " thanks ", etc. In South Arabia and North Africa, especially in Morocco, an initial group is often vocalized by a half-vowel, as *rbā* for *'arba'a* " four " (Morocco), *rbōt* (id. Mehri), *t͟hnēne* for *'ĭt͟hnāni* " two " (Oman), *t͟hnū* (id. Mehri), *kḥol* " black " (Morocco), etc. On the other hand, dialect sometimes prefers the use of a prosthetic (metathesis) as *'ahmār* for *himār* " ass " (Syria), *'igbīr* for *kabīr* " great " (Malta).

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

In Ethiopic the prosthetic vowel always appears with prefixed Hamza, in continuous speech as well as after pause, so in the verb conjugations we find *'astaqtala*, etc. But an initial group is often vocalized by an inserted *-ĕ-*, as in the imperative *qetel* for **qtul*. In Amharic we find a tendency to employ a prosthetic vowel before *r*, thus *ra's* " head " becomes *'ers*.

(*c*) *Hebrew*

The prosthetic vowel is employed only with prefixed א or *h-*, but, as in Abyssinian, the preference is for the inserted half-vowel, thus imperative *q*^{e}*ṭol* (Arabic *uqtul*): reflexive *itqattala* as *hit͟hqattēl*, and in Phoenician as אתקטל. An initial group of two consonants appears in one word as pointed in the Tiberian text, viz. *štayim* " two ", but probably this should be pointed *šittayim* or *šintayim*, from masc. *š^{e}nayim* (Arabic *ithnani*); Phoenician אשנם (Cooke, NSI. 12, 3) suggests *'eštayim.* Elsewhere *bn* > *bēn*, *šm* > *šēm*, *st* > *sēth*, etc., the prosthetic vowel being avoided. Sometimes, however, Hebrew prefers the prosthetic as in *'^{a}bāl* " but " (Arabic *bal*), *'^{a}baṭṭiḥ* " melon ", etc., and sometimes we find alternative forms, as in *z^{e}rōa‘* or *'ezrōa‘* " arm ", *bākhā* (Gen. xxxviii, 5) or *'^{a}bakh* (Joshua xix, 29). In later Hebrew the Mishna shows *στόα* = איסטוא (Nidda 1, 6), *scutella* = אסקוטלא (Moed Katon, 3).

(*d*) *Aramaic*

For the most part the vocalization of an initial group of consonants follows the same course as in Hebrew. Prosthetic *ĭ*- occurs in the verb forms; in Bib. Aram. as in Hebrew with prefixed *h*-, but later forms prefer Hamza, *hith*-, *'eth*-, etc. One word appears in Syriac with an initial group of two consonants, *štā* " six ". Loan words with two consonant initials are usually vocalized by a prosthetic vowel, sometimes by an inserted half-vowel, thus Targ. *σπεῖρα* = אספיר, Syriac *ξενία* = *'aksen*, *ξάνθιον* > *k^{e}santiyun*, *στάδιον* > *'esṭadin*, *στῦλος* > *'estunâ*, *ξίφιον* > *k^{e}sifun*, etc.

(*e*) *Assyrian*

Vocalizes the imperative by an inserted short vowel which assimilates to the stem vowel, thus *purus*, *piqid*, *ṣabat*, etc.

67 (ii) Medial group of consonants

(*a*) *Group of three consonants*

Ordinarily this occurs when an initial group produced by vowel-elision follows a consonant termination. But we have already explained the way in which an initial group is vocalized by a prosthetic vowel or inserted half-vowel or short, and this applies to an initial group of two when following a final vowel as well as after pause, only that, of course, there need be no prefixed Hamza or *h*-, etc., as the syllable containing the prosthetic vowel will have as its first consonant the final of the preceding word. In modern colloquial Arabic the disuse of the case endings and of the short final vowels of the verb persons tends to produce a group of three consonants when the next word has not a prosthetic vowel, and this produces a group of consonants which is vocalized by an inserted vowel. The vowel thus inserted is commonly *ĭ* or *ĕ*, but this becomes *ŭ* by assimilation to a following *ŭ*: thus *shuft-ĕ-ragīl* " I saw a man ", *ḍarabt-ŭ-hum* " I struck them " (Egyptian), etc. In North Africa the partial vocalization of the sonants allows a group of three or even more consonants to stand if one or more of them are sonants, as *kull blad* " every country " (Morocco), etc.

(*b*) *Medial group of two consonants*

Normally the first is the closure of one syllable and the second commences the next, but sometimes we find a vowel inserted so as to form a new syllable with the closure of the first, although there is no necessity that this should be done. Thus in Arabic, more especially if one of the two be a sonant, laryngal, or palatal, and chiefly in the dialects of ʻIraq and North Africa, e.g. *meḥarab* for *miḥrab* " altar " (Maltese), *saʻab* for *saʻb* " difficult " (ʻIraq, Egypt), *baʻad* for *baʻd* " after " (ʻIraq). In Abyssinian this is often done with a sonant or laryngal, as *samaʻekū* for *samaʻkū*, *'alabo* for *'albo* (Tigré dialect), and so Amharic verb forms *qatalatala* for *qataltala*. In Aramaic we find such forms as *dah*^{e}*bâ* for *dahbâ* " gold " with inserted half-vowel, and regularly an inserted half-vowel after ***t*, *d***, preceded by *da*-, as in *wedat͟h*^{e}*wat͟ha*, etc.

68 (iii) Final group of consonants

The commonest instance of a final group of consonants is that produced by the fall of case endings after nouns of the types *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*. In Arabic dialect such a group is vocalized by the insertion of a short vowel *ĭ* or *ĕ* (cf. Hebrew below), thus *tiben* for *tibn*- “ straw ” (Egypt), *ḍuḥer* for *ḍuḥr* “ dawn ”, *ḫamas* for *ḫams* “ five ”, Omani *qador* for *qadr* “ power ”, with the inserted vowel modified by the influence of the emphatic consonants *q-r*, Mehri *'aḫat* for *'aḫt* “ sister ”, etc., but in North Africa a duplicate is retained if one member is a sonant, as *qalb* “ heart ” (Tunis).

In Abyssinian a final double is vocalized by inserted vowel *e*, as *kaleb* for *kalb* “ dog ” ; but it must be noted that Abyssinian *e* is practically no more than a half-vowel.

In Hebrew the forms *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*, insert *ĕ* unless with medial or final laryngal, in which case the inserted vowel is *ă* (cf. 54), thus *malk* becomes *melĕkh*, *qudš* >*qōdĕš*, *sab‘* >*seba‘*, etc. In roots med. gem. one of the duplicates is dropped if a final, thus *'anf* >*'app* >*'af* “ nose ”. The original stem is of course restored when the group of two consonants is relieved by the addition of a vowel ending, as *malkō*, *'affō*, etc.

In Aramaic the course followed is as in Hebrew, but the vowel in the opened syllable becomes a half-vowel, as *nafš* > *n*^{e}*feš*, *nefšâ*, etc.

In Assyrian a final group occurs in the construct of nouns of the type *qatl*, etc., and this is vocalized by inserting a short vowel which assimilates to the stem vowel, as *kalm* >*kalam*, *tis‘* >*tisit*, etc.

69 (iv) Inserted half-vowel

We may refer here to the apparent insertion of a half-vowel or short vowel with certain consonants, although this is not properly an insertion but a “ glide ”, i.e. change of vowel timbre in the passage from the vowel to a following consonant which has an outlet removed from that of the vowel sound (cf. 55). Thus with laryngals following long *ī*/*ē* or *ū*/*ō*, as in Hebrew *rūăḥ* for *rūḥ* “ wind ”, a change of timbre necessitated by the disposition of the vocal organs preparing to enunciate the laryngal following. So Arabic *rūăḥ* " breath " (Egyptian dialect), *ǧūĕʻ* for *gūʻ* (Algerian), and *gūăʻ* (Morocco).

In Nejd and North Africa a similar glide frequently occurs after a labial and before *i* or *a*, as *m^{u}inni* for *minni* (Nejd). Of course, there is no glide after a labial to introduce the vowel *u*, which has an outlet not alien from that used in enunciating the labial, just as no glide follows vowel *a* preceding a laryngal.

In Tripoli and Morocco an inserted *u* often occurs after *h* and before *a*. In Abyssinian this *u* or *w* regularly appears with *q*, *h*, *k*, and *g*, as in *qṷasala* " was wounded ", etc.

70 (II) Haplology and Elision

We have seen the formation of new syllabic groups by means of prefixed or inserted vowels; we have now to consider change of syllabic constitution by the loss of vowels and syllables.

(*a*) Of two consecutive open syllables each containing the same initial consonant followed by the same vowel the first is frequently omitted. Thus in Arabic *ta-* for *tata-* with the personal prefix *ta-* in the imperfect of conjugations with preformative *ta-*, as *takallamu* " speak " for *tatakallamu* (Qur'ān, 11, 107); so *'i'i* becomes *'i* in *minassama 'ila* for *minassama'i 'ila* " from heaven to (earth) " (Qur'ān, 32, 4). In conj. x of hollow verbs with initial *t* or *ṭ* we find elision of formative *ta-*, and this is sometimes followed by assimilation of *t*, thus for *istaṭaʻa* we may have *isṭaʻa* or *istaʻa* ; this change is particularly common in Egypt and Damascus.

Amharic shows *bē* for *bebē* in *'aqqabēt* for *'aqqabe bēt* " master of the house " (Praetorius, *Amhar. Sprach.*, 159*a*, 333*a*).

Assyrian has *še* for *šeše* in *šalašerū* for *šalaš ešerū* " thirteen " (and *ḫamiššerit* for *ḫamiš ešerit* " fifteen "), and *na* for *nana* in *inagē* for *ina nagē*, etc.

71 (*b*) Of two consecutive open syllables each containing the same initial consonant followed by a short vowel, the first is often omitted. Thus Arabic *ya-* for *yuya-* in *yabbisūn* (assimilated as *yibbisūn*, cf. section 63) for *yuyabbisūn* "they dry" in the dialect of Haḍramaut. So *n-* for *n-n-* in the imperfect terminations *-īna* (2nd fem. sing.), *-āni* (dual), *-ūna* (2nd and 3rd plur. masc.) before suffixed *-nā*, *-nī*, so that we get *-īnā* for *-īnanā*, etc.

In Abyssinian a similar change takes place in the 2nd fem. plur. *-kennā* before suffixed *-nī*, *-nā*, thus *-kānī* for *-kennānī*, *-kānā* for *-kennānā*, in which case the first *nn* falls away with the preceding vowel.

Hebrew omits *b*^{e}- "in" before *b*-, *p*-, *m*-, in *bēth* for *b*^{e}*bēth* (Gen. xxiv, 23; xxxviii, 11, etc.), *pathaḥ* for *b*^{e}*pathaḥ* "at the threshold" (Gen. xviii, 1), and *Mā'ōn* for *b*^{e}*Mā'ōn* "at Maon" (1 Sam. ii, 29), but it may be that these are instances of the accusative denoting the place where. So the omission of *m*^{e} in *mā'ēn* for *m*^{e}*mā'ēn* in Exod. vii, 27.

Assyrian shows this elision generally in conj. D (Arabic conj. ii) of verbs med. gem. as *ipassu* for *ipassisu*, *mudtallu* for *mudtallilu*.

72 (*c*) Closely akin to the above is the omission of the initial or closure of a closed syllable when these are homogeneous, as in Arabic verbs with initial *y-* after personal preformative *y-*, thus *yabasu* for *yaybasu*, *yā'su* for *yay'asu*, etc. So *šabīn* "bridegroom", a loan word from the Syriac *šušbinâ* (Hebrew *šišbēn*).

73 (*d*) Less common is the elision of one of two homogeneous consonants separated by a third, as in Arabic *ḥ-n* for *n-ḥ-n* in *eḥna* for *naḥna* ('Iraq), *aḥna* (Tunis, Malta), *iḥna* (Egypt), the 1st pers. pron. in the plur., etc. So Abyssinian *ḥ-t* for *t-ḥ-t* in *ḥatte*, *ḥante* for *taḥta* "under"; Hebrew *šaršā* for *šarš*^{e}*rā* "chain".

74 (*e*) Vowel elision regularly occurs in verbs med. gem. in Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic, as Arabic *farra* for *farara*, Hebrew *sab*(*b*) for *sabab*, etc. This elision does not always take place if the vowels are different.

In Arabic the elision of a final short vowel takes place in pause, but in dialect and in Hebrew and Aramaic the final short vowel is generally obsolete, or else has become long. Other instances occur of occasional vowel elision as Assyrian *anilani* for *ana ilani*, *zikru* for *zikaru*, etc.

75 (III) Metathesis

Metathesis does not directly alter the syllabic constitution of a word but only its syllabic form, but indirectly it often leads to elision, etc., or is the result of such elision. Thus *qatala* with reflexive preformative *ta-* becomes in Arabic not *TAqatala* but *qaTAtala* and hence *-qtatala* with prosthetic *i-iqtatala*. Metathesis occurs most easily between two consonants in contact when one or both are sibilant, dental, or sonant. In Arabic, as we have just noted, such metathesis takes place in the reflexive of the primary conjugation; it does not take place in the reflexive of the intensive *taqattala*, but in Hebrew it does so if the first radical is a sibilant, as in *histabbel* for *hitsabbel*, although we find *hithšōṭaṭnā* in Jer. xlix, 3, without metathesis so as to avoid the collocation of three *t* sounds; and this metathesis appears in Arabic as a kind of survival in Qur'ān reading and in some dialects with this conjugation (cf. 22). So in Aramaic, where each conjugation or theme has its own reflexive form, metathesis taking place with a first radical sibilant. In the Shaf'el theme (older causative, cf. 136) the reflexive Eshtaf'al shows similar metathesis, and so we have *'eštaqṭal* for *'etšaqṭal*, etc. In Assyrian metathesis takes place between reflexive *t-* and the first radical whatever its character, thus *aparas*, *aptaras*; *uparras*, *uptarras*, etc.

Sometimes we find metathesis in nouns of type *qawtal, qaytal,* when the medial is sonant or laryngal: thus Mehri generally as in *ḥaybob* or *ḥabyob* for Arabic *ḥabbab.*

Other sporadic instances of metathesis occur, chiefly when one consonant is sonant or semi-vowel, less commonly when one is labial, and comparatively rarely in other cases. Thus :—

rṣ > ṣr Arabic حِصْرِم (Samaritan חצרם) = Hebrew חַרְצָן "grapes".

rṭ > ṭr Hebrew רֻטֲפַשׁ "grow fresh again" (Job xxxiii, 25) = Arabic (loan word) طَرْفَش "recover".

ṣr > rṣ Hebrew קצר "reap", קרץ "tear off".

zr > rz Hebrew גָּזַר, Arabic جَزَرَ = Hebrew גָּרַז, Arabic جَرَزَ "cut off".

mr > rm Assyrian *zumru* = Hebrew זֶרֶם "shower".

ql > lq Arabic قَتَلَ = Mehri *letoġ* "kill" (cf. sect. 15).

lm > ml Arabic حَلُمَ = Hebrew חָמַל "be gentle".

ʿl > lʿ Hebrew תְּעָלָה = Arabic تَلْعَة (Barth, *Nominalbild.* 276, n. 2).

ks > sk Ἀλέξανδρος, Syriac ܐܠܟܣܢܕܪܘܣ, Arabic ٱلْإِسْكَنْدَر.

št > tš Hebrew נָשַׁת (Isa. xli, 17) = נָתַשׁ (Jer. xviii, 14) "dry up".

VII

THE PERSONAL PRONOUN

(A) The Absolute Form

76 The absolute personal pronoun is a pronoun in the nominative case (in Assyrian and in sub-Semitic it is found also in the oblique cases) and emphatic. The non-emphatic personal subject is expressed by the personal prefixes or suffixes attached to the verb stem, the absolute is added only when the subject is to be emphasized. In the 1st and 2nd persons the demonstrative *'an-* is commonly prefixed to the pronoun when thus used in the absolute form. This corresponds with the ancient Egyptian demonstrative particle *'in-* attached to an emphatic nominative pronoun or noun (Erman, *Ægypt. Gram.* (3), 494), although in Egyptian the use of this emphatic form generally leads to the disuse of the personal suffix to the verb. The emphatic personal pronoun in ancient Egyptian (*'ink*, *ntk*, etc.), which corresponds with the Semitic absolute, is still rare in the Pyramid texts, but was fully developed in later periods, and appears in Coptic as ⲁⲛⲟⲕ, ⲛ̄ⲧⲟⲕ, etc.

77 (1) First Person Singular Absolute

(*a*) *Form 'ana, etc., demonstrative 'an- with pronominal 'a. Cf. pronominal 'a- in the* 1*st pers. sing. of the verb* (*West Semitic imperfect*).

(i) In Arabic this appears as أَنَا , أَنَ , آنَ , (in pause) أَنَهْ , أَنْ , but the final vowel is always short except in pause and sometimes in dialect, as *anâ* (Morocco, Tlemsen), *änâ* (Algeria, ʿAyn Maḍi). In dialect we find phonetic modifications due to the Imale (cf. 43), thus *änâ* (Algeria above), *ǟné* (Tripoli), *ene* (Oman). In the dialect of Haḍramaut we find masc. *ana*, fem. *ani* by analogy with the 2nd person. Occasionally أَنَا becomes هَنَا, and thus Mehri *ho*, or *hu*. In Minæan inscriptions we get אני, the final *-i* being, no doubt, due to the influence of the pronominal suffix (cf. 82), and so *ani* in the dialect of ʿIraq and in Spanish Arabic (cf. Hebrew below).

(ii) Abyssinian *ʼana* (Geʻez), Tigriña *ʼanē* (cf. below), Amharic *ʼennih* or *ʼeñe*.

(iii) Hebrew אֲנִי (in pause אָנִי), the final *-i* due to the pronominal suffix (cf. Minæan and Samaritan below).

(iv) Aramaic אנא (Cooke. NSI. 63, 1 ; 77), Bib. Aram. אֲנָא ; Samaritan אנה (Gen. vi, 17, etc.) and rarer אנא, also אני with final *-i*. Onq. אֲנִי (Gen. vi, 17, etc.), also אֲנָא ; Mandæan אנא ; Syriac ܐܶܢܳܐ. In Targ. Jer. we find נָא without the hamza and half-vowel.

(v) With these forms we may compare sub-Semitic (East African group of Hamitic) *ane* (Bishari), *ani* (Galla), acc. *ana* (id.), *anu* (Saho), *an* (Bilin, Dambea), *ana, ani, an* (Somali).

(*b*) *Form anak-*

Barth (*Pronominalb.* 2*c*) regards this suffixed *-k* as a demonstrative, but it appears elsewhere as a personal element. Thus in Berber (North Hamitic) the theme of the 1st person is *n-k*, of which *n-* is the demonstrative (Semitic *ʼan-*) and *-k* is the pronoun, thus *nek* (dialects of Ahaggar, Awelimidden, Ghat), *neč, neš* (Zenatia), *niš* (Siwah), etc. So ancient Egyptian *ʼink*, Coptic ⲁⲛⲟⲕ. Cf. verb person in Mehri *-ik*, *-ek*, Soqotra *-k*, Bilin *-ko, koti*, Galla *-ko*. So Abyssinian *-ku*, where the other Semitic languages have *-tu* (*-ti*, *-t*). With these may be compared the Sumerian 1st sing. pers. pron. *KU* or *GU* (bilingual frag. 5 r., 20, No. 4).

Thus Moabite אנך (Meša stele, 1, 21, 22, etc.), Phoenician אנך (Cooke, NSI. 3, 1, 2, etc.), *anek*, *anech* (Plautus, *Poenul.* 5, 1, 8; 2, 35), Hebrew *anūki* in Amarna letters, אָנֹכִי in the O.T., and Phoenician אנכי (Cooke, NSI. 3, 1, 2), Aramaic אנך (id. 61, 1), אנכי (id. 62, 19), Assyrian *anaku*, enclitic *-aku*. The final *-i* in Hebrew, etc., is due to the analogy of the pronominal suffix.

(*c*) *Forms compounded with demonstrative ya*

These forms are quite secondary. They appear as *aná-ya* (Morocco), *anâ-yä* (Algeria, ʻAyn Maḍi), *ánâ-ia* (id. U. Brahim), *'ane* (= *'ana-ya*, Tigriña), *'eñe*, *'eñei* (Amharic). Prefixed *ya-* appears in Maltese *yân*, *yâna*, *yîn*, *yîna*. On demonstrative *ya* cf. 91 below.

78 (2) First Person Plural Absolute

Theme *n-ḥ-n* in which the first *n-* represents the demonstrative *n*, *'an*, as in Hebrew אֲנַחְנוּ, Phoenician אנחן, etc. No doubt the second *-n* is the plural termination, and this suggests that *ḥ* may be the personal element as in the Berber theme *n-k-n* plural of *n-k*.

(*a*) In Arabic and Abyssinian the prefixed *'a-* is lost, but it must be remembered that the demonstrative is *n*(*a*)-, so that this *'a-* is only a phonetic addition. Thus Arabic نَحْنُ, نَحْنُو (Oman), نَحْنَا (Tunis, Syria), نَحْن (Syria), نُحُن (id.), and Geʻez *nĕḥnă*, Tigriña *nĕḥnā*, Tigré *naḥnā*. With dissimilation as *laḥna*, *waḥna* (Arabic of Daṭina). But we also find forms in which the demonstrative *n-* is lost, as *ḥōnū*, *ḥene*, *ḥne* (Oman), *ḥöna* (Morocco), *ḥönnā*, *ḥannā*, *ḥinnā* (Nejd), *ḥna*, *ḥne* (Tripoli), *aḥna* (Tunis, Malta), *eḥnā*

(‘Iraq, Hauran), *iḥna* (‘Iraq, Syria, Egypt). Only occasionally do we find the final *-n* omitted in Arabic dialect as *niḥā* (Haḍramaut), *naḥā*, *nḥā*, *nah* (Mehri).

(*b*) Hebrew shows אֲנַחְנוּ, but also נַחְנוּ (six times in the O.T., Exod. xvi, 7, 8, etc.): so Aramaic נַחְנָא (Onq. and Targ. Jer.). Bib. Aram. אֲנַחְנָא, once אֲנַחְנָה (Ezra iv, 16); in the papyri אנחנה Hebrew and Aramaic show a (later) tendency to omit the ח, as אֲנִי (Mishna), אֲנוּ (Jer. xlii, 6), אֲנָן (T.B.), נָן (T.J.), אנין (Mand.), אנען (id.), אנן, אנחנן (Samaritan): Syriac ܚܢܢ.

(*c*) Assyrian *anīnū/ī*, *nīnū/ī*.

(*d*) Parallels. Somali *anuna*, Galla *nu*, Saho *nanu*, Dambea *anen*, Kafa *no*, Hamara *yinne*, *yin*, Bilin *yin*, Bishari *hene*, *henen*, Hausa *namu*.

79 (3) Second Person Absolute

(*a*) *Basic forms*

Sing. masc.	Sing. fem.	Plur. masc.	Plur. fem.
’anta	*’anti*	*’antum*	*’antin*

Demonstrative *’an-* as in the 1st sing.: personal element *-t*. Fem. in *-i* as in verb persons, e.g. imperative sing. masc. اُقْتُلْ, fem. اُقْتُلِى; perfect sing. masc. قَتَلْتَ, fem. قَتَلْتِ, etc., and so in some noun forms (cf. 116). Plural in *-m*, *-n*, the fem. plur. retaining *i*, the masc. plur. with *u*.

(*b*) *Arabic*

Sing. masc. أَنْتَ, and so in dialect *énta*, *ínte* (‘Iraq), *énte*, *ént* (Arabia), *ént*, *énteh* (Hauran), *ént*, *ínt*, *énte* (Syria), *enta*, *inta*, *inte* (Egypt), *nte* (Oman), *ente* (Spanish Arabic), *ent*, *ente* (Haḍram.), rarer مَنْتَ, and thence Mehri (common gender) *hĕt*, *hĭt* (for *hant*). Sing. fem. انتِ and dialect *énti*, *ínti* (Central Arabia), *nti* (Oman), *ínti* (ʻIraq), *énti* (Syria), *ínti* (Syria, Egypt). Plur. masc. أَنْتُمْ (أَنْتُمُ in poetry and waṣl). Plur. fem. أَنْتُنَّ, the vowel *u* is due to the influence of the masc. *u*, *i* is preserved in dialect (cf. below).

In dialect generally the fem. plur. is obsolete, but we find some forms which retain the *i* vowel, as *ínten* (ʻIraq), *nten* (Oman), *énten* (Daṭina). Occasionally the fem. sing. is obsolete, as is the case in Haḍramaut and Spanish Arabic. Contrariwise the fem. sing. has sometimes replaced the masc., as in *énti* (common gender, Tunis), *ntî-n* in Tlemsen, *entî-n*, *entî-na* in Morocco, and Maltese *inti*, *int*. In Tunis and Tlemsen these forms have displaced the masc., in Morocco there are separate forms for the two genders, but if the pronoun is reinforced by the addition of the demonstrative *-n*, *-na*, the fem. *enti* is used for both genders. The added demonstrative *-n*, *-na*, appears in Tlemsen *ntîn*, plur. *ntuman*, and in Morocco sing. *entîn*, *entîna*, plur. *ntuna*. The demonstrative *ya* is found in Algerian (U. Brahim and ʻAyn Maḍi) and in Moroccan, thus :—

	U. Brahim.	ʻAyn Maḍi.	Morocco.
Sing. masc. .	*entăya*	*ntăya*	*ntâya*
fem. .	*entîya*	*ntîyă*	—

In the masc. plur. added *-a* (*u*) appears in poetry and waṣl, and so in dialect in Tunis, Tlemsen, Algeria, and Morocco. The masc. plur. appears without final *-m* (as أَنْتُو) in Syria, ʻIraq, Hauran, Oman, Egypt, and Morocco (in *ntû-na*). The suffixed pronoun *-k* occurs in Mardin sing. *antek* and Maltese plur. *intkom*. In Mehri the plur. forms are masc. *tem*, fem. *ten*.

(*c*) *Abyssinian*

	Sing. masc.	Sing. fem.	Plur. masc.	Plur. fem.
Ge'ez .	*'anta*	*'anti*	*'antemmū*	*'anten*
Tigré .	*'enta*	*'enti*	*'entūm*	*'enten*
Amharic .	*'anta*	*'anč*	*'antū*	—
	'ant		*'ellānt*, *'ennānt*	

In Amharic *-ti* becomes *č* (cf. *-ki* in 38). In the plur. *-m* falls away with the lengthening of the preceding vowel (cf. Arabic أَنْتُو); the fem. plur. of this form is obsolete in Amharic. There is also a plural (common gender) *'ellānt* = *'ella* + *'ante* (cf. demonstrative in 91 below), which by assimilation sometimes becomes *'ennānt*. The 2nd personal pronoun is obsolete in Tigriña, and is replaced by the stem *nese-* (i.e. *ness-* = نَفْس "self") with the pronominal suffixes, thus sing. masc. *nesekā*, fem. *nesekī*, plur. masc. *nesekum*, fem. *neseken* (dialect Aksum, masc. *nessātkū*, fem. *nessātken*).

(*d*) *Hebrew*

In all cases *-nt-* becomes *-tt-*. Masc. sing. אַתָּה, אַתָּ, in pause אָתָּה, אַתָּה. אַתָּ occurs only in Kethib (1 Sam. xxiv, 19; Ps. vi, 4; Eccles. vii, 22; Job i, 10; Neh. ix, 6), and אַתְּ in Num. xi, 15; Deut. v, 24; Ezek. xxviii, 14. Fem. sing. אַתְּ, in pause אָתְּ, אתי in Kethib (Judges xvii, 2; 1 Kings xiv, 2), possibly a mark of northern dialect. Plur. masc. אַתֶּם, where *-ŭm* becomes *-ĕm*. Plur. fem. אַתֵּן only in Ezek. xxxiv, 31, more commonly אַתֵּן. Also אַתֵּנָה in Gen. xxxi, 6; Ezek. xiii, 11, 20; xxxiv, 17. Phoenician sing. masc. את.

(*e*) *Aramaic*

Sing. masc. את (Cooke, NSI. 64, 5), so אַתְּ in Onq. (Gen. xlix, 8, etc.), Samaritan, Syriac ܐܢܬ, and neo-Syriac of Tur *hat*, Ma'lula *'atč, hatč*; also אַנְתְּ (papyri, Bib. Aram., Targ. Jer., and Syriac orthography ܐܢ̱ܬ); אנתה (Bib. Aram., Kethib), אתה (Samaritan), אנאת (Mandæan). The sing. fem. is rare; we find אנתי in the papyri, אתֿי in Samaritan (Gen. xxiv, 60), and Syriac ܐܬܝ, ܐܢ̱ܬܝ. It does not occur in Bib. Aram., and in Onq. and Mandæan resembles the masc. Plur. masc. אנתם (papyri), אַנְתּוּן (Bib. Aram., and so Syriac ܐܢ̱ܬܘܢ), אַתּוּן (Onq., Gen. xlv, 8, etc.), אַתּוּן (T.B.), and so Samaritan אתון, Syriac ܐܢ̱ܬܘܢ with silent *n*, Mandæan אנאתון. Plur. fem. אַתִּין (Onq., Samaritan, T.B.), and so Syriac ܐܢ̱ܬܝܢ.

(*f*) *Assyrian*

Sing. masc. *atta*, fem. *atti*, plur. masc. *attunū*, fem. *attīna*.

(*g*) *Sub-Semitic parallels*

Ancient Egyptian sing. masc. *ntk*, fem. *ntt*, plur. *nttn*. Dambea sing. *ent*, plur. *enten*; Bilin sing. *enti*, *inti*, plur. *entin*, *intin*.

80 (4) Third Person

(*a*) *Arabic*

(i) Masc. sing. هُوَ, هُوَّ, *hûwa* (Egypt, Syria, Tunis, Mecca), *hûwe* (Oman, Palestine), *hûwå* (Tripoli), *hóuwa* (Algeria, U. Brahim), *héuwa* (Tlemsen); hence *hûa* (Tunis, 'Iraq, Morocco, Malta), *hu'a* ('Iraq), *hûe* (Oman, Syria, Spanish Arabic), and finally *hû* (Egypt, Syria, Central Arabia, Haḍramaut, Malta, Spanish Arabic, and Sab. הו).

(ii) Fem. sing. هِيَ *hîya* (Egypt, Tripoli, Tunis, 'Ayn Maḍi of Algeria, Tlemsen), or *hîye* (Oman, Syria, Palestine), or *hêya* (Algeria, U. Brahim). Corresponding to masc. *hûa*, etc., we have fem. *hîa* (Morocco, Malta, Spanish Arabic, Tunis) and *hîe* (Syria, 'Iraq), and *hi'e* ('Iraq). Corresponding to masc. *hû* is fem. *hî* (Syria, Malta, Central Arabia, Haḍramaut, Spanish Arabic). Thus as general types :—

masc. *hûwa* (e)	fem. *hîya* (e)	Oman, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, North Africa.
hû'a	*hî'a*	'Iraq.
hûa	*hîa*	Oman, 'Iraq, Syria, Malta, Morocco, Tunis, Spanish Arabic.
hû	*hî*	Arabia, Syria, Malta, Egypt, Spanish Arabic.

(iii) Masc. plur. هُمْ, هُمَّ. In dialect usually *hum*; in Haḍramaut as *hom*. هُمَّ in Egypt, Tripoli, 'Iraq, and *húma* or *hûma* in Tunis, Algeria, Morocco, and Maltese *húma*, usually with alternative use of *hum*. In Syria a form with *hemme* with its vowel modified by the fem., or the fem. *henne* appears in use for both genders in addition to the ordinary forms.

(iv) Fem. plur. Originally *hin* or *hinna*, and thus *hin* in the dialects of Oman and Syria, and *hinna*, *hinne* in 'Iraq. In classical Arabic the vowel is assimilated to that of the masc. as هُنَّ.

(v) Special forms with suffixed *-n*. Mosul sing. masc. *hi-nu*; Tlemsen masc. plur. *huma-n*; Syrian fem. plur. *henne-n* used as of common gender.

(vi) Forms with suffixed *-t*.

	Sing. masc.	Sing. fem.	Plur. masc.	Plur. fem.
Spanish Arabic	*hu-et*	*hi-et*	*hum-et*	*hunnat*
Palestine .	*hu-tu*	*hi-te*	—	—
Sabæan .	—	—	המת	—

Cf. use of demonstrative *-t* in Abyssinian.

(vii) Forms in *s*. Where Sabæan shows הו, ה the older Minæan has סו, ס, with which must be compared the Assyrian *šu*, *ši*, etc. (cf. below). These *s* forms survive in Mehri and Soqotra, but are specialized to denote the fem., thus sing. masc. *he*, *hi*, sing. fem. *se*, *si*, plur. masc. *hem*, plur. fem. *sen*. In Soqotra, also, we find masc. sing. *yhe*, a form which Barth (*Pronomin.* 7*b*) connects with Aramaic איהו, etc. (below).

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

(i) Ge'ez. Sing. masc. *we'etu*, sing. fem. *ye'eti*, masc. plur. *we'etomu*, plur. fem. *ye'eton*. At the base of these forms we have *hu'a*, etc., with suffixed demonstrative *-tu* (cf. emphatic *-tu* in Galla, and use of demonstrative *-t* in Assyrian, etc., as well as in Sabæan plur.; this becomes *hu'etu* and thence *we'etu* by assimilation of *h* to the following vowel, and forms its plur. in *-m* (cf. 2nd person). Similarly *hi'ati*>*hi'eti*> *ye'eti* with plur. in *-n*. There is another plur. form with masc. *'emuntu*, fem. *'emantu*, in which we see the element *em-* with gender endings *-u*, *-a*, and demonstrative *-tu* not inflected.

(ii) Tigré. Masc. sing. *hŏtū*, fem. *hĕtā*, plur. masc. *hetōm*, fem. *hetān*. Pronominal *hŏ* (= *hu*), *hĕ* (= *hi*) with added demonstrative *t* which takes the gender terminations (fem. *-a*, not *-i* as in Ge'ez). To this are added the plur. formatives *-m*, *-n*.

(iii) Tigriña uses *nese-* as in the 2nd person (q.v.), giving sing. masc. *nesu*, fem. *nesa*, plur. masc. *nesom*, fem. *nesen*.

(iv) Amharic also has lost the 3rd personal pronoun proper, and uses the stem *'ers-* (*ra's* "head") with the pronominal suffixes, thus sing. masc. *'ersu*, fem. *'ersowa*, plur. (common) *'ersačo* or *'ersačaw*.

(*c*) *Hebrew*

Sing. masc. הוא, Moabite הא in Meša stele lines 6, 27. Phoenician הא (C.I.S. i, 9, etc.), Plautus *hu*. Sing. fem.

הִיא. Plur. masc. הֵם, הֶם־, הֵמָּה. Phoenician המת (with demonstrative -*t*, cf. Sabæan, etc.). Plur. fem. הֵן, הֶן־, הֵנָּה.

(*d*) *Aramaic*

Masc. sing. הוּא in Bib. Aram., Targ. Jer., and Samaritan, הוּ in Mandæan, and so Syriac ܗ̇ܘ ; *huwe* in the neo-Syriac of Tur. Fem. sing. הִיא in Bib. Aram., Onq., Samaritan, הע in Mandæan, and Syriac ܗܝ ; *hīya* in the neo-Syriac of Tur. Plur. masc. הם in the papyri, and המו in the papyri and Bib. Aram.

To these simpler forms we must add a series of plurals with final -*n*, thus masc. הִמּוֹן in Bib. Aram. (accusative only), הינון in Mandæan, and Syriac ܗ̇ܢܘܢ ; neo-Syriac of Tur *hönne*. Fem. הינין in Mandæan and Syriac ܗ̇ܢܝܢ. Mandæan also as הינען.

A third group shows prefixed -אי in T.B. sing. masc. איהו, fem. איהי, plur. masc. אינהו, fem. אינהי. With these compare Bib. Aram. plur. masc. אִנּוּן, fem. אִנִּין, and Syriac plur. masc. ܐ̄ܢܘܢ, fem. ܐ̄ܢܝܢ.

T.B. also shows a series with prefixed -ני, which is in use as a substantive verb, thus sing. masc. ניהו, fem. ניהי, plur. masc. נינהו, fem. נינהי.

(*e*) *Assyrian*

Sing. masc. *šū*, fem. *šī*, plur. *šun*(*u*), fem. *šina*. To these may be added the demonstrative -*atu* as *šūatu*, etc.

With this *s*/*š* form (cf. Minæan, Mehri, above) must be compared the ancient Egyptian older absolute pronoun sing. masc. *sw*, fem. *si*, plur. *sn*, and the later form sing. fem. *nts*, plur. *ntsn*. Cf. also the Berber suffixes sing. masc. -*s*, -*is*, -*es*, plur. masc. -*sen*, fem. -*sent*. Also Galla sing. masc. *isa*, fem. *isi*, plur. *isan*; and Saho sing. masc. *ússūk*, fem. *íšši*, plur. *úss*ū*n*.

81 (B) THE SUFFIXED PRONOUN

The suffixed pronoun may be attached to a verb or preposition as denoting the objective governed by the word to which it is attached, or to a noun as denoting the genitive on which the noun depends. In either case the suffix is attached to the full word, i.e. root, formative, and termination, and so a final vowel or consonant which in ordinary speech falls away because it is final is restored before the pronominal suffix. In the case of a suffixed pronoun attached to a noun, the noun is thereby defined just as it would be by a following noun in the genitive (cf. 132 below).

82 (1) First Person Singular

(*a*) *Attached to nouns and prepositions*

(i) Arabic. After a long vowel or diphthong *-ya* (but also *-ū-ya* as *-ūy*, and *-aw-ay* as *-ay*), in poetry and waṣl after a consonant or short vowel (which is then dropped) ***-iya***, otherwise after consonant or short vowel (which is then dropped) -ī; but in exclamation -ī becomes -ĭ, as يَا قَوْمِ "O my people" (Qur'ān, 5,21); and in pause ـِيَهْ or ـِيَا. Now, -ī undoubtedly stands for *-iy*, and so we may regard ***-iya*** as in all probability the original form. In dialect we find *yi*, *ye* for *ya* after long vowels (Egypt, Syria, Palestine, 'Iraq, Oman), and sometimes *-y* (Haḍramaut, Egypt as *beladīy* "my countrymen"). Oman also *-yine* (with demonstrative *-ne*). With the nouns أب, أخ, حَم, فو, the classical usage is أبو, etc., before suffixes other than the 1st person sing., and that suffix appears simply as -ī, the final vowel of the substantive being elided, thus *'abī*, etc. But in dialect we find *'abuya* ('Iraq, Petræa, Egypt), *'abuy* (Haḍramaut), *buyā* (Morocco), *abuyi* (Syria, Oman).

(ii) Abyssinian. In Ge'ez *-ya*, Tigré *-ye*, Tigriña *-y*, *-ye*, *-ay* (the last only after a consonant), the *-y* causing the lengthening of the preceding vowel. Amharic *-ya*, *-ye*.

(iii) Hebrew. After a consonant *-ī*, after a vowel or diphthong *-y*. So Phoenician '. Plur. or dual *-ay*, *-ey*, makes *-ayy*, etc.

(iv) Aramaic *-ī*, *-ay*, *-y*. Mandæan *-ya*.

(v) Assyrian *-ī*, *-ya*, *-ā*.

(vi) Sub-Semitic parallels. Ancient Egyptian *-w'i*, the older form of the absolute employed as a suffix. In the Berber or Libyan languages *-i* is employed as objective suffix to the verb. Somali dative *-i*, possessive *-ai*. Dambea *-yi*, *-ye*, and so Bilin prefixed *yi-*.

(vii) Noun suffix with demonstrative *t* (cf. sect. 95) appears sometimes in Arabic with *'ab*, and *'umm*, thus *'abati* for *'abī* in Qur'ān, 12, 4. Usually it has the form *'abati*, *'ummati*, but *'abată*, *'abatā*, etc., are also found. In Mehri we have the form *-tey*.

83 (b) Attached to verbs

When the suffix of the 1st person is used to express the accusative and is attached to the verb it has the inserted consonant *-n-*. This is a purely phonetic addition called by the Arabic grammarians "the supporting *n*" (نُونُ الْعِمَادِ) or "the protecting *n*" (نُونُ الْوِقَايَةِ), and so Brockelmann refers to the *n* as used to avoid the hiatus (Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprach.*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 100); but Wright (*Comp. Gram.*, p. 96) seems disposed to regard it as in some way denoting the accusative.

(a) *Arabic*

In Arabic the form of this suffix is normally *-nī*, or *-nĭya*, the latter form in poetry and in the waṣl, or *-nĭyah* with the

" *h* of silence " in pause. Sometimes in exclamation *-nī* is shortened to *-nĭ*, as *ittaqūnĭ* " fear me ! "

This *-ni* appears generally in dialect, but in Haḍramaut we find two forms, masc. *-nā*, fem. *-nī*, on the analogy of the 2nd person sing.

Properly restricted to use as an accusative after verbs, it is, in some dialects, extended to other words. Thus in Tunis it is used with *ba'd*, *'ad*, *lā*, and *hā*, as *lā̆-nī* " it is not I "; in 'Iraq it occurs with *ba'ad* and with *ism* " name ", which then becomes *semnī* " my name " ; so *smā̆ni* (Tripoli), *semni* (Tlemsen).

In South Arabia (Oman, Haḍramaut) we sometimes find *-in-nī* with participles, the inserted *-in-* being perhaps a form of the demonstrative *n(a)* (cf. 93 and Hebrew below).

This *-nī* form does not appear in Mehri, where *-tey* is used with nouns and verbs.

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

In Tigriña and Amharic the verb takes the same suffix as the noun. In Ge'ez we find *-nī* with verb persons ending in a vowel ; in the 2nd plur. fem. *-ken* before this suffix becomes *-kennā* (cf. Arabic *-tunna*), and then by haplology *-kennānī* becomes *-kānī*. By dissimilation *-īnī* appears as *-e-ni*, thus giving *qatalkeni* with the suffix following the 2nd fem. sing. and similarly with the 2nd fem. sing. imperative. In the Tigré dialect the suffix appears as *-ne*.

In Hebrew the suffix is *-nī* : in the 2nd masc. plur. original *-tum* normally appears as *-tē̆m*, but with suffixed *-nī*, *-*tumūnī* becomes *-tūnī*, an instance of haplology similar to that noted in Abyssinian. In the imperfect, imperative, and infinitive *-nī* is used whenever the stem ends in a vowel, but when it ends in a consonant we find *-e-* inserted, thus *qŏtlē̆nī*, etc. This inserted *-e-* may be, as Barth suggests, due to the analogy of final *-y* verbs (Barth, *Pronominalbildung*, § 12*b*) ; or it may be the helping vowel *ĭ/ĕ* raised to *ē* by the accent. In the imperfect, chiefly in pause, we also find the suffix as *-an-nī* or *-en-nī* where the inserted *-an-*, *-en-*, may be (i) a form of demonstrative *na-* where *-na-ni-* becomes *-anni* as *lala* becomes *alla* in *'allādhī*; or (ii) it may be "the old termination *en* of the energetic mood, but without its original force" (Brockelmann, *Sem. Sprach.*, p. 160).

In Aramaic the same suffix appears as *-ni*, in Bib. Aram. also as *-ē-ni* after a consonant in the imperfect, and as *-inna-nī* or *-nna-nī* (cf. Dan. vii, 16), showing the same inserted *-n-* as we have seen in Hebrew. So Samaritan ני- (Gen. iv, 11, etc.) and Onq. *-nī*, and *-nănī* as in Gen. xl, 14. In Mandæan we find אן after consonants, ן after vowels. Syriac has ܢܝ (ܢܺܝ) after a vowel, including the restored vowel of the perfect 3rd masc. sing., etc. In the imperfect, etc., *-ay* (Hebrew *-ē*) is inserted after a consonant ending. We also find the form *-(e)nan(i)* as *neqtuleynân* (cf. Hebrew).

Assyrian shows the suffix *-ni* or *-ani* as well as the forms *-anni*, *-inni*, as in *ušerabanni*, etc.

84 (2) First Person Plural

The ordinary form is *-nā*, and the suffix thus appears in Arabic, Tigré, Tigriña, Bib. Aram., Onq., Targ. Jerus., and Nabatæan.

Arabic dialect sometimes shows the Imale, thus *-ne* (Oman), *-ne*, *-nī* (Dofar), *-n* (Mehri). In Ge'ez *-nā* becomes *-nă*. In Amharic with nouns it is *-n*, or *-en* after a consonant, with verbs *-nă*, *-ne*. In Syriac we find *-n*, *-an*, *-nan*, and in T.B. *-in*. Mandæan ן-, אן-, איאן-; Samaritan *-n* (Gen. xx, 60, etc.). Assyrian *-nā* in letters.

Hebrew assimilates the final vowel to the plural termination *-ū*, thus *-nū*, an assimilation which has already taken place in the Amarna letters. We find *-nū* also in Assyrian; but

Assyrian shows *-nī* in the possessive and accusatives *-niāti*, *-nīti* (with demonstrative *t*), and dative *-niāši*, *-nīši*.

Forms also occur with added demonstrative *-n*. Thus in the southern dialects of Arabic *-in-na* attached to participles, as *hum maḥalifin-inna* "they are allied to us" (Landberg, *Études*, ii, 723), Tigré *-anna*, Hebrew *-ĕn-nū* as *yimṣā'ennū* (Hos. xii, 5, rare form), Syriac *-nan*, Targums *-inn^enā*, *-nanā*, Mandæan, with the verb, -נאן, -ינאן, Samaritan *-nan* (Exod. xxxii, 1, etc.), Assyrian *-anniti*, dative *-annašu*, *-annaši*.

Sub-Semitic parallels occur in Galla *-ke-na* (possess), Dambea *ana-*, *yin-* as prefixes, Bilin *yina-*, verbal suffix *-nu*.

85 (3) Second Person Suffixed Pronoun

(*a*) *Arabic*

	Sing. masc.	Sing. fem.	Pl. masc.	Pl. fem.
Classical . . .	كَ, كْ	كِ, كِي, (كْ)	كُمْ, كُمُ, كُمُو	كُنَّ
Oman, Haḍr. .	*-ak*, *-ek*, *-k*	*-ši*, *-š*	*-kum*	*-ken*
'Iraq . . .	*-ak*, *-ek*, *-k*	(*-ki*), *-ič*	*-kum*	*-cen*
Mehri . . .	—	*-š*	*-kem*	*-ken*
Syria, Palestine	*-ak*, *-ek*	*-ik*, *-ki*	*-kum*, *-kon*	*-kin*, *-ko*
Palestine fellah.	—	—	*-čim*, *-čū*	*-čin*
Egypt . . .	*-ak*, *-k*	*-ik*, *-ki*	*-kum*, *-kū*	—
Tripoli . . .	*-ak*, *-ek*, *-ik*	*-ki*	*-kum*	—
Tunis, Morocco	*-ak*, *-ek*	—	*-kum*	—
Spanish Arabic	*-ak*, *-ek*	—	—	—
Maltese . . .	*-ak*, *-ik*, *-k*	—	—	—

(i) Sing. masc. becomes *-k* in pause and very frequently in dialect, thus necessitating the insertion of a vowel after a final consonant. This vowel is usually *-a-* by assimilation to the (lost) final of the suffix, but we also find *-e* and *-i*. (ii) Sing.

fem. *-kĭ* or *-kī* is sometimes retained, or else the vowel falls with insertion of *-i-* after a stem ending in a consonant. Palatalization of the *-k* occurs under the influence of the *-i-* (cf. 38) in South Arabia as *-š*, in ‘Iraq and with the fellahin of Palestine as *-č*. (iii) Plur. masc. is properly *-kum*, but we also find *-kū* (cf. absolute, 79). Evidently in the dialect of the fellahin of Palestine this is influenced by the fem. both in reproducing the vowel *-i-* (but cf. كِنَّ in the dialect of the B. Kalb) and in the palatalization of *-k*. (iv) Plur. fem. originally *-kin*(*na*) and so كِنَّ in the dialect B. Kalb and *-kin* in South Arabia, ‘Iraq, Syria, Palestine, but in classical Arabic the vowel has been assimilated to masc. *-u-* (cf. absolute). In North Africa the fem. plur. is obsolete.

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

	Sing. masc.	Sing. fem.	Plur. masc.	Plur. fem.
Ge‘ez .	*-ka*	*-kī*	*-kĕmmū*	*-kĕn*(*n*)
Tigré .	*-ka*	*-kī*	*-kūm*	*-ken*, *-χen*
Tigriña	*-ka*, *-χ*	*-kī*, *-χī*	*-kūm*	*-ken*, *-ātken*
Amharic	*-χ*, *-h*, *-ka*	*-š*	*-kū*, (*-hū*)	—

In Tigré and Tigriña *-k* becomes *-χ* after a vowel. Amharic sing. masc. *-χ*, *-h* but *-ka* restored before an enclitic ; sing. fem. *-k* is palatalized as *-š* ; plur. masc. *-kū*, which becomes *-hū* after fem. *-ač* (as *-ačhū*) ; the fem. plur. is obsolete.

(*c*) *Hebrew*

Sing. masc. ךָ, כָה, ךְ. כָה is rare (יַעֲצָרְכָה in 1 Kings xviii, 44). ךְ- after monosyllabic prepositions with preceding (original) vowel lengthened as in בָּךְ for *bă-kă* ; after other monosyllabic stems ending in double closure either (1) as in pause ֶךָ, thus בְּאַפֶּךָ “ in thy nose ”, 2 Kings xix, 28 ; or (2) as monosyllabic prepositions, thus כֻּלֵּךְ "all of thee" in Isa. xxii, 1.

Sing. fem. ךְ, כִי only in Kethib, as in Ps. cxvi, 7; Cant. ii, 3; Jer. xi, 5; and with plur. in Ps. ciii, 3, 4, 5; 2 Kings iv, 2, 3. Perhaps a mark of northern dialect.

Plur. masc. ־כֶם.

Plur. fem. ־כֶן. כֶנָה in לָכֶנָה, Ezek. xiii, 18, 20; xxiii, 48, 49.

(*d*) *Aramaic*

	Sing. masc.	Sing. fem.	Plur. masc.	Plur. fe
Papyri . .	ך	כי	כם	
Bib. Aram. .	־ֶנָּךְ ־ָךְ ךְ		־ֶנְכון ‑כון	
Samaritan .	נך ך	נך יך ך	נכון כון	כן כין
Onqelos . .	ָךְ ךְ	ִיךְ ַיִךְ	כון	כֵין
Mandæan .	אך ך	יך ך	אכון כון	כין כין
,, (verbs only)			ינכון נכון	נכין ין
Syriac . .	ـܳܟ, ܝܟ, ܟܝ	ܟ݂ܝ, ܟ݂ܝ, ܟܝ	ـܳܟ݂ܘܢ, ܟ݂ܘܢ, ܟܘܢ	ܟ݂ܝܢ, ܝܢ

Bib. Aram. ךְ with imperfect having vowel ending, ־ֶנָּךְ same with consonant ending, otherwise ־ָךְ after consonants, ךְ- after vowels. So נכון after imperfect with consonant ending. With these cf. verbal suffixes in Mandæan, and -נ- forms in Samaritan.

(*e*) *Assyrian*

Sing. masc. -*ku*, -*ka*. Sing. fem. -*ki*. Plur. masc. -*kunu*, -*kuni*.
Dative -*kum*. -*kim*.

(*f*) *Sub-Semitic parallels*

Genitive with noun, Agau -*ki*, Hamara *ku*-, Bilin -*ka*, Galla -*ke*, Dambea -*ki*, Bishari -*k*, -*ok*.

86 (4) Third Person

(*a*) *Arabic*

	Sing. masc.	Sing. fem.	Plur. masc.	Plur. fem.
Classical .	هُ	هَا	هُمْ, هُمُ, هُمُو	هُنَّ
S. Arabia .	*-h, -uh, -oh*	*-hā*	*-hum, -hom*	*-hin,* *-hen,* *-hinna*
Oman. .	*-h, -o*	*-hā, -he*	*-hum*	*-hin*
‘Iraq . .	*-h, -ä, -äh*	*-hā, -ā*	*-hum*	(*-hinn*)
Syria, Palest.	*-oh, -ō, -ū*	*-hā*	*-hōn*	—
Egypt .	*-h, -o, -u*	*-hā*	*-hum*	—
Tripoli .	*-äh*	*-hā, -hā̈*	*-um, -om, -hum*	*-em, -hem*
N. Africa .	*-u*	*-hä, -hŭ*		
Malta. .	*-h, -uh, -u*	*-ha, -a*		
Mehri. .	*-h, -eh*	*-s, -se*	*-hem*	*-sen*
Minæan .	סו, ס		סם	

The masc. is evidently *-hu* with plur. *-hum*. Mosul shows also *-nu* with verbs due to the analogy of the 1st person. Fem. *-hā*; the fem. plur. originally *-hin*(*na*), which survives in dialect but in classical speech is affected by the analogy of the masc. (cf. 2nd pers.). Generally the fem. plur. is obsolete in modern dialect.

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

	Sing. masc.	Sing. fem.	Plur. masc.	Plur. fem.
Ge‘ez . .	*-hū, -ū, -ō*	*-hā, -ā*	*-hōmū, -ōmū*	*-hōn, -ōn*
Amharic .	*-ū, -we*	*-oā, -uā*	*-ōm*	*-au*
Tigré . .	*-ū*	*-ā*	*-hōm, -ōm*	*-ōn*
Tigriña .	*-ū, -ō*	*-ā*	*-ōm, -’ōm*	—

In Ge‘ez sing. masc. *-ū* appears only in the nominative, *-ō* in the accusative. Fem. plur. shows vowel assimilation as in Arabic. Amharic sing. masc. *-we* only with verbs; plur. *-au* after fem. *-aĉ*.

(*c*) *Hebrew*

Sing. masc. . .	ו וֹ ה	ו after vowels. Phoenician ו.
Sing. fem. . .	ה הָ	
Plur. masc. . .	מוֹ ם הֶם	Plur. fem. ן הֶן.

(*d*) *Aramaic*

	Sing. masc.	Sing. fem.	Plur. masc.	Plur. fem.
Bib. Aram.	הי ֵהּ ֵנֵּהּ	ַהּ	הוֹן	
Onqelos .	הּ ֵיהּ	ָהּ	הוֹן	
Syriac . .	ܘܗܝ, ܗ̄, ܘ̇ܗܝ	ܗ, ܗ̇	ܗ̂ܘܢ	ܗ̂ܝܢ
Mand. .	יא יה̄ ה̄	א ה̄	אינן איהון ון הון	הין ין הין
„ (verbs)			ינון ינהון	ינין ינהין
Samaritan.	נה ו ה	נה ה	נון ון הון	הן הין
Nabatæan	הי	ה	הם	
neo-Punic		א	נהם ם הם	

Masc. sing. *-ih* (ֵהּ, ܗ̄, יהּ, etc.). In plur. a clear distinction is made between masc. *-u-* and fem. *-i-*. Nabat. masc. הי (Cooke, NSI. 89, 29), fem. ה (id. 90, 91, 84), plur. הם (id. 76. 85, 2. 89, 5. 90); neo-Punic fem. א- (id. 59, 60), plur. forms (id. 53, 55, 59).

(*e*) *Assyrian*

Sing. masc. *-šu*, *-š*; fem. *-ši*; plur. masc. *-šun*(*u*), *-šunūti*/*u* and *-šunūši*/*u*; fem. *-šin*(*a*), *-šināti*/*u*, *-šināši*/*u*.

VIII

THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

87 The demonstratives are based on particles which are of the nature of exclamations denoting attraction or aversion, nearness or remoteness. For the most part these demonstratives are used in combination with personal pronouns or with one another. In some cases they are specialized in such a way that one is used for the masculine another for the feminine, one for the singular another for the plural, and sometimes they take the terminations employed to denote number or gender with nouns, but in themselves they have no idea of gender or number, and the manner in which they are specialized is not the same in all the Semitic languages.

88 (i) Demonstrative da, di

The demonstrative *da, di,* appears throughout West Semitic, in Arabic as ذا, ذي, and by regular phonetic change as Abyssinian *zā, zĕ,* Hebrew זֶה, זוֹ, and Aramaic דא, די. Alone it denotes nearness and so " this ", a sense often strengthened by the addition of demonstrative *ha* and other particles, but it is found also as a merely emphatic addition to particles denoting remoteness. In the Arabic dialect of Oman we find it used to reinforce the 2nd pers. pron., and thus forming sing. masc. *dok,* fem. *doš,* plur. *dokum.*

(*a*) *The Genders*

In Arabic ذَا is used for the masc., ذِي for the fem., but in the other West Semitic languages these genders are reversed, and sometimes we find Arabic ذِي as masc., as in the combination الَّذِي. A feminine in *-i* corresponds with the gender forms in the personal pronouns, e.g. 2nd sing. masc. أَنْتَ, fem. أَنْتِ, and with the gender suffix in the verb persons as 2nd sing. imperf. تَقْتُلِي. But *-ā* is the commoner sign of the feminine in noun forms.

The Arabic forms are probably akin to the noun ذُو, fem. ذَاتُ, denoting " owner ", a noun which was actually used as a demonstrative in the ancient dialect of the Teiyi, and thus used was indeclinable ذُو for all genders and numbers. A similar ذُو, ذِي is employed as a relative pronoun (cf. 98 below).

Although the fem. ذِي occurs and is frequent in dialect as *d̲h̲i* (Oman), *di* (Egypt, North Africa, except Tunis, Mehri), and in compounds with *-ka*, etc., it is usually replaced in Arabic by a fem. تِي or تِهِ, which sometimes appears as تَا; this *tī, tā,* form is possibly borrowed from the demonstrative, which occurs in Abyssinian as masc. *tū,* fem. *tā* (Tigré, Tigriña), and as suffixed in *we'e-tū,* etc.

In Abyssinian, Hebrew, and Aramaic the genders are reversed—*di* for the masc., *da* for the fem. In Ge'ez the masculine appears as *zĕ* (= *zĭ*) and fem. as *zā* ; but there is an alternative fem. *zātī,* which corresponds to the Sabæan ד̄ת. In Tigriña we find the stem *'ez-* to which the ordinary gender terminations are added, thus masc. *'ezū,* fem. *'ezā,* and an alternative form occurs with demonstrative *-iy-* (cf. § 96 below), thus masc. *'eziyū*, fem. *'eziyā*. Amharic has *zi-*, forming masc. *zīkha*, *zīkh*, fem. *zīč* "this", and masc. *zīā*, fem. *zīāč* "that".

In Hebrew we find masc. זֶה, fem. זֹה or זוֹ and זֹאת. The masc. shows vowel shortening by which the *-ī* becomes *-ĕ*, and similar shortening no doubt takes place in Phoenician ז. Fem. זֹה, with regular change of *ā* to *ō*, appears in Eccles. ii, 2; v, 15, 18; vii, 23; ix, 13; and זוֹ, a mere transcriptional variant, in Ps. cxxxii, 12, and Hos. vii, 16. In all these passages it may be a colloquialism and so inclining towards Aramaic דא. More commonly the fem. afformative *-t* is added as in זֹאת (Jer. xxvi, 6, as הזֹאתָה). This added *-t* appears also in Moabite זאת (Meša stele line 3), in Phoenician זת (Cooke, NSI. 60) or *syth* (Plautus, *Poen.*, 5, 1, 1), Sabæan ד̄ת, and Ethiopic *zātī*. An exceptional form זוּ occurs in poetry (Ps. xii, 8; Hab. i, 11), and is also used as a relative (cf. below).

In Aramaic *dā* appears as the feminine, and so in Samaritan and Nabatæan (Cooke, NSI. 78), but the masculine has suffixed *-n*, thus Samaritan דן (Phoenician זן), Nabatæan דנה (Cooke, NSI. 92, 86), Zinjirli inscription זנה (Cooke, NSI. 63, 20), Bib. Aram. דְנָה. With this must be compared Sabæan ד̄ן, Maltese dialect masc. *dān*, fem. *dīn*; Ethiopic *zĕ-n-tū*, etc., and Mehri (with change of *n* to *m*) masc. *dōme*, fem. *dīme*. In all these instances the demonstrative *dā*, etc., is compounded with the particle *-n*, which is itself a demonstrative (cf. 93 below).

(*b*) *The Plural*

A plural directly formed from *dā*, *dī*, appears in Arabic dialect in compounds with *ha-*, thus *hädūn* in the dialect of Tripoli, *hādūn* (Morocco), *hādhūma* (Tunis), *hädhū* (Algeria), *hādū* (Tlemsen), and without *ha-* in Maltese *daun*. But these plurals, ذُونْ, ذُو, are never recognized as tolerable and are evidently formed in North African dialect by analogy; they have no equivalents in other Semitic languages.

The regular plural is formed from an entirely different stem *'ul*, which is used in West Semitic in the plural only, but appears in Babylonian-Assyrian in the singular as well. Thus Arabic plur. أُولَى in the dialect of the B. Tamim, or أُولَاءِ in that of the Hijaz. Abyssinian masc. *'ellū*, fem. *'ellā* (Ge‘ez); Amharic masc. *'ellōm*, fem. *'ellān*, and also masc. *'ellī*, fem. *'ellā*; Mehri masc. *liōm*, fem. *liē*. It is only in Abyssinian and Mehri that we find the genders distinguished. Hebrew אֵל or אֵלֶּה; Phoenician אל (C.I.S. i, 14, 5, etc.); neo-Punic אלא and Plautus *ily*; Aramaic אֵלֶּה (Jer. x, 11), אלו (papyri), אלה (Nabatæan, Cooke, NSI. 87, 3). But in Aramaic, as in West Semitic generally, these forms appear usually in combination with prefixed *ha-* (cf. § 89 below). Assyrian, plur. masc. *ulu-utu*, fem. *ullu-ate*, sing. *ullum* (common gender).

(*c*) *The Dual*

Classical Arabic also shows a dual formed from the singular, thus masc. nom. ذَانِ, oblique ذَيْنِ; fem. nom. تَانِ, oblique تَيْنِ.

(*d*) *Combination of the da and 'ul stems*

Abnormally in Arabic dialect we find the combination of ذَا and أُولَا; thus, in the dialect of Mecca *dōl*, in that of Egypt *dōlī*, *dōlā*, and in the speech of women *dōlat*. This combination occurs very often with prefixed *ha-* (cf. 89 below).

89 (ii) Demonstrative ha

Demonstrative *ha* appears in Arabic as a particle implying nearness to the speaker, as *hā huwa* " here he is ! " *hā hunā* " here ! hither ! " It occurs with the 2nd personal pronoun suffixed as *hākă*, *hākĭ*, *hākum*, *hākunna*, " here you are ! " in the sense of " take this ! " but it is distinct from the verb *ha'a* " take ", which gives masc. *ha'a*, fem. *ha'i*, plur. masc. *ha'um*, fem. *ha'unna*, as in Qur'ān, 16, 19, etc. So in dialect *hāk* ('Iraq), *hākū* (Petræa). In dialect we sometimes find *hāhuwa* as an emphatic form of the 3rd personal pronoun, thus Egyptian sing. masc. *aho*, fem. *ahi*, *ahe* ; Omani *ha-uwe* " this is ". Perhaps it is to be identified with the first part of the stem in *huwa*, *hiya*, with vowel assimilated to the following semi-vowel. In Hebrew the same particle appears as *hē* in Gen. xlvii, 23 ; Ezek. xvi, 43 ; and in Aramaic as *hâ* " lo ! " in Dan. iii, 25 ; and Syriac *hâ* as in Pesh. Matt. x, 16. Probably it is akin to *'a* in Aramaic אהן (for ההן) " this " (T.J.).

It occurs as the definite article in Hebrew, Phoenician, Moabite, and sometimes in Samaritan. In this use it appears as *hă-* with closure by doubling the following consonant, or (in Hebrew) as *hĕ-*, *hā-*, before the laryngals ; but of these *hă-* is obviously the normal form, although this does not preclude its identification with Arabic *hā*, the shortening being due to its use as a prefix. Possibly both are connected with *hay* (cf. below). There does not appear to be any basis for Stern's theory which identifies *ha-* with Arabic *al*, supposing an original *hal* with *l* assimilating with the following consonant, for it is obviously not a case of assimilation as may be seen from the *hā-* before certain laryngals, but simply an instance of the preservation of a short vowel by the expedient of closing the syllable by doubling the following consonant.

The same particle appears as a suffix in Abyssinian *'ethā*

" this time ", where its use is adverbial, and so Hebrew *-ā* in *'attā* " now ". As a suffix it is also used in Aramaic in the so-called emphatic form which was originally the stem with suffixed article, but has now lost its determining power. In Samaritan it is used as an alternative for the prefixed article, and is the commoner. Before leaving the use of *ha* as a suffix it may be noted that it is employed in the Omani dialect as an enclitic for strengthening other demonstratives, as *dak-ha*, *dik-ha* " that ", and so in Egyptian masc. *duk-ha*, fem. *dik-ha*. But it is as a prefix reinforcing other demonstratives that it most commonly occurs.

(*a*) *Ha with da, di, and plur. 'ul*

Arabic shows *ha-* prefixed to *dā*, etc., as the commonest form of the demonstrative " this ". Thus sing. masc. *hād͟hā* (*hādā* in Haḍramaut, Syria, Morocco, Algeria), fem. *hād͟hī* (*hādī* in Syria, Morocco, Algeria), or *hād͟hihi* or *hātā*. In 'Iraq we find *hadh* for both genders. Omani has also masc. *d͟hāhā*, fem. *d͟hīhā*. No plural is properly formed from this stem, but we find in North Africa *hädūn* (Tripoli), *hādūm* (Morocco), *hād͟hūma* (Tunis), *häd͟hū* (Algeria), *hādū* (Tlemsen), and *hydaun* (Tripoli, Malta).

Hebrew shows sing. masc. *hazze*, fem. *hazzōt͟h*; Phoenician אז.

Aramaic has sing. fem. *hadā*, Syriac *hâde*, rarer *hâd*, and enclitic (common gender) *hâdâ* (ܗܳܕܳܐܗ̱ܘ) ; Mandæan האזא, Samaritan האזא, T.J. *'adā*, T.B. *hadā* or *hā*. Neo-Syriac of Ma'lula sing. fem. *hod͟h*, plur. *hattin*. The masculine singular is formed with added *-na*, as Bib. Aram. *hādēn*, Samaritan *hadin*, T.J. *hadin*, T.B. *hadīn* or *ha'ī*, Mandæan האזין, Syriac *hânâ*, *hân* (from *hâden*), Ma'lula *hanna* (for *hadna*). The plural is regularly formed by *ha-'ul*. Thus Arabic *hā'ula'i* (Hijaz), *hā'ū lā'i* (B. Oqeyl), *ha'ūla* (B. Tamim), *hōlā* ('Iraq). Hebrew *ha'ēl* (Pentateuch only), *hā'ēlle* (elsewhere in the O.T.), *hallū*, *’ellū* (Mishna). Aramaic *hâlen*, Mandæan העלין.

(*b*) *Combined ha-da-’ul*

As we find *d̲h̲a* and *’ul* sometimes combined in Arabic dialect, so we find this combination also with prefixed *ha-* in *had̲h̲ōl* (‘Iraq), *hadōl* (Meccan dialect), *hādūl* (Tripoli), *hādhūla* (Tunis), *hādōl* (Damascus), *hādhal* and contracted *hāl* (Syria and Central Arabia), masc. *hādhōlā*, fem. *hādhōlī* (Nejd), *hādhīle* (Oman); and a derived masc. sing. *hādōlā*, fem. *hādennī* (‘Iraq).

90 (iii) Demonstrative hay or ’ay

This particle occurs in Arabic as exclamatory *’ay* and as *’ayya* with the pronominal suffixes, the latter chiefly in North Africa. Another, probably the original, form appears in the interjection *hayā*. In Palestine we find *hei* “ here is ” with pronominal suffixes, as *heynī* “ here am I ”. So Abyssinian *heya*. Probably it is the same root which appears in Hebrew as *’*^{e}*hī* “ where ? ” (Hos. xiii, 10, 14) and in the Mishna as *hē* in *hē’ākh* “ how ? ” *hēl*^{e}*kā* “ therefore ”, etc.

(*a*) In Arabic we find *hay* compounded with *dā*, etc., in *haydā*, *haydī* “ this ” (Syrian dialect), and *heydak* “ that ” (id.), and with *t* demonstrative in *haytă*, *haytŭ* “ come here ”, and *hatin*, *hatī* “ give, bring ” ; and also in *hayhāt-* “ away ”.

(*b*) In Aramaic *ay* occurs in T.B. אידי ואידי “ this and that ”, where *ay* strengthens the demonstrative *dī* ; and *hay* in *hayidā* “ this ” (fem.) in T.J. So T.B. *’aydak* “ that ”, with plur. *’aynak*.

91 (iv) Demonstrative la

In Arabic this demonstrative appears as an exclamation compounded with *yā* in *yālaka*, *yālahu*, etc., used as an interjection expressive of surprise or admiration, “ O thou ! ” According to the grammarians of Kufa, this *yāla* was originally *ya'ala,* followed by a proper name, the whole forming the دعوى الجاهلية "the war-cry of the time of ignorance", which was forbidden under Islam. The word *yāla* could be followed by a pr.n. in the genitive or a suffixed pronoun denoting the person invoked, and this could be further followed by the accusative or *min.*

In Arabic this demonstrative appears as the article, usually *la-* becoming *-l-*, but in Omani also as *lo-*, *lö-*, *lu-*, e.g. *lömse* "the evening", etc., or assimilating with dentals, sibilants, and sonants, as in *ṣṣagg*, *ththora*, *nnefes*, etc. In Morocco it occurs as *la-*, *le-*, *lu-*; and in Southern Arabia as *am-*.

Professor Wright says of the article that "though it has become determinative, it was originally demonstrative, as still appears in such words as اَلْيَوْمَ "to-day", اَلْآنَ "now", etc. (Wright, *Arabic Gr.* i, 269, B). Hebrew perhaps retains traces of this article in such words as *'almōdād* (Gen. x, 26), *'eltōlăd* (Joshua xv, 30—*tōlăd* in 1 Chron. iv, 29). We also find a reduplicated form in Abyssinian *la-la->lali-* with a pronominal suffix as *lalika,* denoting "that". So in Arabic *la-la->'al-la-* in compounds with *dī* (cf. below).

(*a*) *Compounded la-ha*

Abyssinian (Tigré dialect) masc. *lahay,* fem. *laha,* with pronominal suffix denoting "that", the gender terminations following *ze, za* (above). So Hebrew *halla* "that" (Mishna).

(*b*) *Compounded la-da*

Arabic, reduplicated stem in *'alladhī*, *'allatī*, etc., i.e. *'alla-* compounded with *dhī* (not *dhā*), which here shows masc. in *-ī*, as in Hebrew, Abyssinian, etc. Hebrew *hallāze* (Gen. xiv, 65), *halāz* (Judges vi, 20), fem. *hallēzū* (Ezek. xxxvi, 35), *hallāz* (2 Kings iv, 25), where *hall-* = *'all-* of Arabic.

92 (v) Demonstrative ka

This particle is used to denote a remote object, " that yonder," etc. Thus *d̲h̲ā* " this ", *d̲h̲āka* " that ". It occurs as an adverb in Tigré *ka* " then ", Hebrew *kō* " thus ". With the interrogative *ay* (= *ē*) it produces the Assyrian *ēkā* " where ? " As a demonstrative it is chiefly used in combination with others to give an idea of remoteness.

Arabic sing. masc. *d̲h̲āka*, fem. *tāka* " that ", in dialect fem. *d̲h̲īk* (Oman, Central Arabia), *dīk* (Mehri, Maltese); plur. *'ūlāka*, *'ūlā'ika*, and in dialect *d̲h̲ūk* (Morocco), *dauka* (Maltese). Egyptian dialect shows also the compound *kide* and Mardin *kidē*. Abyssinian (Ge'ez) sing. masc. *zekū*, plur. *'ellekū*. Amharic sing. masc. *zīka*, *zīk*, *zīh*, fem. *zīč*, *zīhč*, corresponding to Arabic *d̲h̲āka*, etc. Aramaic, Bib. Aram. sing. masc. *dēk̲h̲* (Ezra v, 17, etc.), fem. *dāk̲h̲* (id. iv, 13), plur. אלכי in the papyri, *'illēk̲h̲* (Dan. iii, 12). Mandæan *haek* for *hadek*, and T.B. masc. האיך, fem. האך.

Arabic also shows prefixed *ha-* in sing. masc. *hād̲h̲āka*, fem. *hātāka*, *hātīka*, etc. Also in dialect *hādāk* (Mosul, Mardin, North Africa), *hād̲h̲āk* (Oman), *hādäk* (Daṭina), *hād̲h̲ika* (Tunis), and fem. *hād̲h̲īk* (Mosul, Mardin, 'Iraq), *hadič* ('Iraq), *hād̲h̲ik* (Oman), *hätak* (Daṭina); inverted order in Egyptian masc. *dukhā*, fem. *dikhā*, forms which are found also with the pronominal suffix as masc. *dukhauwa*, fem. *dikhaiya*, and in Oman masc. *d̲h̲ākhā*, fem. *d̲h̲īkhā*. Plural by substitution of *'ul* for *d̲h̲ā* as *dōlak* (Mecca), *dylakhin* (Oman), etc.

Further compounded with *la-*, in sing. masc. *d̲h̲ālika*, fem. *tilka*, *tālika* " that " with plural *'ūlālika*, *'ulālika*. Syriac *hârka* for *hâlka*.

93 (vi) Demonstrative na

Like *l-* and certain other demonstratives this may be vocalized by a following or by a prefixed vowel, *na-*, *'an*, *'in*, etc., and just as *la-la-* appears in Arabic as *'alla-*, so *na-na-* becomes *'anna* (cf. 91), Assyrian *annu.* As usual, we have occasional changes of initial Hamza to *h-*, and thus we get the Sabæan article הן, Hebrew *hēn* " this " (*'ane* in 1 Kings ii, 36, etc.), and *-n* without a prosthetic vowel when vocalized by a preceding vowel, as *kēn* (Hebrew and Syriac) " like this ", i.e. " thus ". It is worth noting that Sumerian has a personal pronoun NI, NA, NE, which is also used as a demonstrative, and with this we must compare the particle *'in-*, introducing the nominative in ancient Egyptian (cf. 76) and Galla *ini,* Dambea *ni* (demonstrative).

As a prefix this demonstrative most commonly appears as *'an-* or *han-*, less commonly as *ni-*, *na-*. Thus in the absolute personal pronoun, 1st and 2nd pers. *'an-a*, *'an-ta*, etc., showing *na-* or *'an-* in the 1st plur. Arabic *naḥnu*, Hebrew *'ᵃnahnū*, etc., and this prefix is sometimes extended to the 3rd person, as masc. אנון, fem. אנין in Samaritan, masc. *'enun*, fem. *'enen* in Syriac in the plural, and Bib. Aram. *himmōn*, with sing. *himmō* where *himm-* = *hinm-* ; less frequently it assists in forming an emphatic singular *ni-hū*, *ni-hī* " it is he, she " (Aramaic).

As a suffix it appears as *-n*, *-na*, *-nu*, etc. Thus, with prefixed interrogative *'ay-*, Arabic *'ayna* " where ? " *'ayyāna* " when ? " Hebrew *'ayin*, Assyrian *anu*, *ani.* As a suffix to the personal pronoun, it occurs in the 2nd sing. fem. *'anti-n*(*a*) (Morocco), *antyāna* (Tunis), 2nd plur. *'antūm-ān*(*a*) (Morocco), and 3rd sing. masc. *hi-nū̆* (Mosul, Bagdad). Occasionally it is used instead of the personal pronoun, as in *lanu* " to him " (Mosul, Bagdad), where *-nu* = *-nhu.*

But the commonest use appears in inserted *-n-* between the verb stem and the pronominal suffix. In Arabic this occurs only in the dialects of South Arabia, with the suffixes *-nī*, *-nā*, attached to participles which thus become *-in-nī*,

-in-nā. Tigré with plural suffixes *-an-nā*, *-kkum*, *-kken*, where *-kk-* is for *nk*. In Hebrew we find *-ĕn-* in *-ĕnnī*, *-ĕnhū* (Exod. xv, 2), etc., and rarer *-ănni*; 2nd sing. *-en-ka* (Jer. xxii, 14), but commoner *-ekka*; once 3rd sing. *-nēhū* (Deut. xxxii, 10), commoner *-ĕnhū* (id.), *-ĕnnū*, *-ĕnnō* (Num. xxiii, 13). This inserted *-ĕn-* occurs with singular suffixes and 1st plural only. Aramaic *-n-* after a vowel, *-in-* after a consonant, as Bib. Aram. *-inna*, *-nnā*; in 2nd plur. *-inkom*, etc. In the papyri we find 2nd sing. masc. נך-, fem. נכי- ; so Samaritan 2nd masc. נכון, fem. נכין, ינכין ; Mandæan 2nd plur. masc. נכון, נאכון, 3rd masc. ינון, fem. ינכין. Assyrian *-in-* or *-an-* with assimilation as *-akk(u)* for *-anku*, *-iššu* for *-inšu*, *-aššu* for *-anšu*, etc.

This demonstrative also appears compounded with *da*, *'ul* in Sabæan ד̄ן, Aramaic sing. *dēn* (Bib. Aram.), זן in Phoenician, דן in Samaritan, זנה (Zinjirli, Cooke, NSI. 63, 20), Nabatæan דנה (id. 92, 86); plur. Sabæan אלן, Aramaic *'allēn*, Mandæan עלין. Compare sing. masc. *dān*, fem. *dīn* (Maltese), plur. *'ellōn* (Abyssinian), and plur. masc. *'ellōm*, fem. *'ellān* (Tigré).

With added *-k* (cf. 92), Aramaic זכן (papyri), *dikkēn* (Bib. Aram.), *hanik* (Mandæan), *hānēk* (T.B.), and Syriac masc. ܗܢܘܟ, fem. ܗܢܝܟ.

94 (vii) Demonstrative ma

This seems to be akin to nunation, i.e. to the final *-n* used in the indeterminate form (cf. 132), thus Sabæan מלכם = Arabic *malik-un*, Sabæan חשרם = Arabic *ḥašid-un*. In Arabic *-ma* appears in *'ayma* " so far as, as regards ", and in *halma* " come here " from *hala* or *halla*, and *'ayma* " what ? " with interrogative *'ay*. In another form it appears as *-umma* in the vocative *'allāhumma* " O God ! " Perhaps it is akin to the article *am* which appears in Southern Arabic

(Haḍramaut *em-*, cf. Landberg, *Datina*, ii, B, 7; 8, 9, 10; 8, 6, 15). Suffixed *-ma* also appears to be related (cf. Mufaṣṣal, 28, 14; 74, 4); but it must be noted that in these instances *m* may be due to a phonetic change from *n*. In Abyssinian it appears as *-em*, used adverbially in *temāl-em* "yesterday", and so in Hebrew *šilšōm* "day before yesterday". Assyrian *ammu* "that", and adverbially in *kiam* "also", *kiam* "thus".

This demonstrative occurs in combination with other demonstratives in Mehri *dākim*, fem. *dīkime* "that", and in Aramaic זכם, which appears in לזכם, בזכם in the papyri. It is doubtful whether we ought to identify it in the Arabic plur. *hādūma*, *hādūmka* (Morocco), *hādumma* (Tripoli), or whether this *-hādūm* is merely a dialectal plural of *hādā*; but it may well be an affix in Mehri sing. masc. *dōm*, *dōme*, fem. *dīm*, *dīme*, plur. *liōm*.

With this Semitic demonstrative we may compare Afar *ama* "this" and Irob-Saho *amma*, *ammay* "this", both of the East African group of Hamitic.

95 (viii) Demonstrative ta

This demonstrative appears in Abyssinian in composition with prepositions, as *bōtū*, *bātī*, *lōtū*, *lātī*, etc., and in Assyrian *jātu*, *jāti*, etc. With this *ta*, *tu*, *ti*, Barth (*Pronominalb.* 30) connects the adverbial termination in Arabic *rabba-ta* "very much", Aramaic *beth* "therefore", *rebbath* "very much".

It most commonly appears in fem. *ti* (masc. *tu*, as in pers. pron. *hu*, *hi*) in Arabic, replacing the fem. of *d̲h̲ā* (cf. 88*b*) in *tāka*, *tīka*, *tālika*, *tĭlka*; in Abyssinian it occurs as masc. *tu*, fem. *ti*, suffixed to the personal pronoun in *we'etu*, *ye'eti*, etc., and as a personal pronoun in Tigré and Tigriña, sing. masc. *tu*, fem. *ta*, plur. masc. *tom*, fem. *ten* (Tigré), or *tan* (Tigriña); also in Tigriña in the form sing. masc. *'etu*, fem. *'eta*, plur. masc. *'etom*, fem. *'etan*; Amharic masc. *'ut*, fem.

'at; Sabæan דת, Phoenician חמת. In Assyrian as suffixed to the 3rd pers. pron. (cf. Abyssinian) *šu-tū*, *šu-ātū*, *šu-ātī*, etc.

We find it also compounded with other demonstratives in Arabic *hay-tu*, *-ti*, *-ta* " come here ", *hay-ha-tu*, *-ti*, *-ta* " away ", although these may be cases of the personal endings of the verb applied by analogy to demonstrative stems. Abyssinian sing. masc. *zen-tū*, fem. *zā-ti*, plur. masc. *'ellōn-tu*, fem. *'ellān-tu*, also plur. *'ellōtu*. With these compare Galla emphatic *-tu* as in *ani-tu*.

96 (ix) Demonstrative ya

This demonstrative appears in Arabic as *yā*, an exclamation drawing attention, and as *'ay*. Both are combined in the reduplicated forms *'ayya*, *'iyya*, just as **lala* becomes *'alla*. As *y-* with a half-vowel it is found attached to the personal pronoun in Soqotra *y-he*, and appears also in North African *ana-ya*, *anta-ya*, etc. (Morocco), *anti-ya* (Algeria), *jyn*, *jyna*, *ynae* (Malta), and *ya-h* " he " (Syria). In Oman it is found with prepositions as *biya* in *biyadayla* " with these ", etc. In Tigré it is used in the exclamation *yaha* to call attention, and in Tigriña and Amharic it occurs as attached to the personal pronoun, thus *'añe* for *'ana-ya* (Tigriña), *'eñe*, *'eñei* (= *'en-ye*, *'en-yei*, Amharic). So Aramaic איהו, איהי (T.B. and T.J.) and Mandæan plural איהון, איהין for הון, הין; to which must be added Assyrian *a-a-u* (= *ay-yu*).

It may perhaps be connected with the particle employed to denote the accusative in the form *'iyya* with pronominal suffix as *'iyyaya*, *'iyyaka*, etc. Assyrian *k-iy-ya* with suffix as *kiyahu* " him ". Akin is the interrogative *'ay* (cf. 106), as in Hebrew *'ayye* " where ? " Tigré *'ayyi*, fem. *'ayya*. Compounded with *tu*, *ti*, *ta*, it appears in Hebrew as the particle denoting the accusative, *'ēt̲h̲*, *'ĕt̲h̲-*, Phoenician אית, Hebrew *'aōt̲h̲* with suffixes, Mishna אותו, Aramaic אית (papyri), later *yath* (Dan. iii, 12, etc.), *wat̲h̲* in Syriac *'akwath* “like”, with personal suffix attached. Tigriña *’etū*, for *’et-iy-u*.

Compounded with other demonstratives we find *hadulaya* (dialect Tripoli), and masc. *hadakaya*, fem. *hadikaya* (id.): Abyssinian *zēntu*, where *-ē-* is possibly for *-ay-* (Ge‘ez), and Tigriña masc. *’ezi-yū*, fem. *’ezi-yā*. Aramaic (papyri) אלכי, Syriac *dēn*.

97 (x) Demonstrative aga

Assyrian, sing. masc. *aga*, fem. *aga-ta* “this”; in plural with *annutu* as *agannutu*, etc., cf. Hebrew *gē* “this” in Ezek. xlvii, 13, but it may be, as Gesenius thinks, that גה is a transcriptional error for זה: Z.A. iv, 56, regards *aga* as a variant for *a’a*, and Jensen (Z.A. vii, 173 sqq.) considers that *aga-n* is allied to the root *KWN*.

IX

THE RELATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

98 (A) The Relative Pronouns

(i) *dhū*, etc. (cf. demonstratives). The same form used for all genders and numbers, special forms for feminine and plural only in colloquial dialects. Arabic *dhū*, but also *dhī* in the combination *’allādī* (cf. 91*b*); Sabæan ד̄; Ethiopic *ză*; Hebrew *ze*, *zū*; Aramaic *zū* in the Ben-Hadad inscription, or *di*, *d*^{e} (this the commoner form in Syriac, the Targums, T.B., and Mandæan).

Fem. Arabic *dhī* as *di* in dialect Haḍramaut and Morocco; Sabæan ד̄ת; Ethiopic *zī-* in combination with the personal suffixes, thus sing. 1st *zī’aya*, 2nd *zī’aka*, etc., and *’enta*, a form which Barth regards as connected with Berber relative *enta* (*Pronomin.* 67*b*).

Plur. Arabic *’ul* in *elli*, *illi* (dialect ‘Iraq, Syria), *yalli* (= *ya*+*elli* in Syrian), *halli* (Egypt, Mecca, and North Africa); Sabæan אלי.

99 (ii) (*’a*)*l*. Rare use of the article as relative in Arabic; so *hă-* in the later Hebrew of Chronicles and Esther (cf. 2 Chron. xxix, 36, etc.). Arabic dialect *li* (Dofar, Tunis, Malta), *’el* (‘Iraq, Syria, Palestine); Sabæan אל; Tigré *la*.

100 (iii) *ša*, etc. Hebrew *’*^{a}*šer*, late *še-*, *š*^{e} (2 Kings vi, 11; Judges v, 7, as mark of northern dialect of Israel), Phoenician אש (C.I.S. i, 2, cf. *assamar* in Plautus, *Poenul.* lii, 26), ש (C.I.S. i, 112, etc.), this latter more frequent in neo-Punic (*se* in Plautus, *Poenul.* i, 1, 3). Later Hebrew *šel* as mark of the genitive (= *’*^{a}*šer li* “ which is to . . . ”, cf. 128), so Punic (Cooke, NSI. xxxix, 2; xli, 2, etc.). Assyrian *ša*, *šu*.

The same root appears in Assyrian *aššam* " there ", Hebrew *šām*, Aramaic *tamman*, Arabic *thamma*, *thumma*.

101 (iv) The interrogatives *man*, *mā* (cf. 102 below) are also used as relatives. Thus Arabic *man* " who ", *mā* " which " ; Hebrew *mī* " who ", *mă*, *mā* (cf. 102) " which ", and also *mō* in the poetical forms *b*^{e}*mō* (Ps. xi, 3), *k*^{e}*mō* (Ps. lxxv, 15), *l*^{e}*mō* (Job xxvii, 14). Aramaic *mâ*. So Ethiopic *mā-* in *mā'zē* " when ", Tigré *ma'aze*. Arabic *mātā* (cf. interrogatives).

102 (B) The Interrogative Pronouns

(i) *mā*. Arabic *mā* " what ? " shortened *mă* with the prepositions *bimă*, *limă*, etc. Also *māhuwa* " who ? " (Moroccan dialect), *mhu*, *mu* " who ? " (Oman).

Abyssinian *ma* with preposition *kama*, etc.

Hebrew *mă*, *mā* (cf. above), the short retained by closure of the syllable, thus *măllakem* " what is it to you ? " (Isa. iii, 15), *măbbeṣaṣ* " what profit ? " (Ps. xxx, 10), *măzze* " what is this ?" (Exod. iv, 2). Before *h*, *ḥ*, ʿ (cf. 53), as *me*, *me ḥādēl* (Ps. xxxix, 5), etc., also at beginning of sentence as in 2 Kings i, 7, etc., and in *lame* (1 Sam. i, 8), *kamme*, *bamme*, etc., but lengthened as *mā* in *l*^{e}*mā*, *bammā*, *kammā*, *lammā*.

Aramaic *mā* (Ezra vi, 8), Syriac *mâ*. With prep. *k*^{e}*mâ*, etc.

The same root is combined with *d̲h̲* or *t* (cf. relatives) in Arabic *mātā* " when ", Ethiopic *mā'ze* " when ? " Hebrew *matay* (id.), Syriac *'emta* " when ? " and in Syriac *mânâ* (=**mâ-denâ*) " who ? " and Targ. *mādēn* " why ? "

103 (ii) *man*. Arabic *manū*, *manī* " who ? " (cf. relative *man*), Ethiopic *mannū*, acc. *manna*, plur. *'ella-mannū* ; Amharic *mān*, acc. *mānan*, plur. *'ella-mān* ; Tigré, Tigriña *măn*. Aramaic *mân*, *mânâ* in Syriac and Targ., also Syriac *mūn* ; Samaritan מן and so Nabatæan (Cooke, NSI. lxxx, 87) ; Syriac *manu*, T.B. masc. *manū*, fem. *manī*. Assyrian, nom. *mannu*, *mannum*, oblique cases *mannim*.

104 (iii) *mī*. Abyssinian *mī-aṭan* " how much ? " (Ge'ez); Tigré *mī* " what ? " Hebrew *mī* " who ? " and as " what ? " (Amos vii, 2, 5). Aramaic *mī* (T.B.) as simple particle of interrogation.

105 (iv) *min*. Arabic *min* " who ? " *men*, *min* (Haḍramaut, 'Iraq, Morocco). Abyssinian *mĕn* (Amharic). Assyrian *minu* " what ? " *ana meni* " why ? " Also in Abyssinian *ment* " what ? " (Ge'ez), *ment-av* (Tigriña).

106 (v) *'ay*. Arabic *'ayy-*, *'ayy* (Egypt, Haḍramaut). Ethiopic *'ay* (indeclined). Aramaic masc. *'ay-na*, fem. *'ay-dâ*, plur. *'ay-lēn*. Assyrian *ay*. All these denote " who ? what ? " used adjectivally.

X

THE NOUN

107 (A) Nouns generally

The question as to whether nouns or verbs come first in the historical evolution of language may be regarded as largely one of those theoretical exercises which are but little calculated to advance the practical work of philology. So far as the Semitic languages are concerned there are undoubtedly older forms surviving amongst the nouns than amongst the verbs, and the variety of noun forms as contrasted with the comparatively stereotyped verb form seems to support the view that the nouns present an earlier type than verbs. But it is absurd to argue as though all the nouns came into existence first and all the verbs were derived from them or vice versa. Early Semitic, like other primitive languages, must have possessed a limited range of noun ideas and verb ideas, and many new nouns were afterwards formed by derivation from verbs, as well as new verbs from nouns. We say noun ideas and verb ideas because it is quite possible that there may not have been a limited vocabulary, but, as appears in several African languages, a large though vague vocabulary full of synonyms, the progress of development being mainly an advance in the formation of accurate ideas, and consequently the specializing of synonyms so that those previously used indefinitely of a whole genus were now applied to different species, and thus the vocabulary became more accurate. Such a progress had taken place to a great extent before the separation of the different branches of Semitic, but it had not taken place before the separation of Semitic from the earlier Hamitic group, for there we find hardly any likeness in vocabulary although close similarities in morphology.

But these must be regarded as mere suggestions. Whilst we can find primitive languages which are diffuse and vague in vocabulary, there are undoubtedly others which are scanty and yet fairly accurate in denoting a limited range of common objects, as seems to be the case with the Baltic group in the Indo-European family. We seem able to state that when Semitic was specialized its parent stock was by no means of a primitive type, and so proto-Semitic was itself at a fairly advanced stage of development.

The great majority of noun and verb stems show a base form of three consonants, but a small number of bi-consonantal roots appear amongst the nouns. Some of these are found also in ancient Egyptian, whilst others not so found are assimilated to tri-consonantal roots.

108 (I) Two Consonant Roots

(a) First Group

Two consonant noun stems which show no assimilation to three consonant stems.

θn " two " : ancient Egyptian *sn* ; Arabic *iθn* (dual *iθnāni*) ; Hebrew *š*^{e}*nayim* (dual) ; Assyrian *šinā*.

śp " lip " : ancient Egyptian *śp-t* (fem. affix) ; Arabic *šafat* ; Hebrew *śāfā* ; Assyrian *šap-tu*.

ś' " sheep " : ancient Egyptian *św* ; Arabic *ša'* ; Hebrew *śe*.

m' " water " : ancient Egyptian *mw* ; Arabic *ma'* ; Assyrian *mi-i* ; Abyssinian *may* (cf. § 19) ; Hebrew **may-*, in plur. *mayim*.

mt " man " : ancient Egyptian *mt* ; Hebrew *maθ* or *meθ* ; Abyssinian *met* ; Assyrian *mut-u*.

bn " son " : Arabic *ibn* ; Hebrew *bēn* ; Assyrian *binu* (Aramaic *bar*).

šm " name " : Arabic *ism* ; Sabæan סם ; Hebrew *šēm* ; Assyrian *šumu*.

m' "hundred": Arabic *mi'at*; Abyssinian *me'-et* (fem.); Hebrew *me'ā*; Assyrian *meat.*

pm (*pw*) "mouth": Arabic *fam*; Abyssinian *'af*; Hebrew *pe*; Assyrian *pū.*

yd "hand": Arabic *yad*; Sabæan אד; Hebrew *yad*; Assyrian *idu.*

dm "blood": Arabic *dam*; Hebrew *dām*; Assyrian *damu.*

(*b*) *Second Group*

Noun stems which show two consonants but are frequently treated as having three. This may be an assimilation to tri-consonantal forms, or it may be that they were originally tri-consonantal.

'b (*'bw*) "father"; *'ḫ* (*'ḫw*) "brother"; *ḥm* (*ḥmw*) "father-in-law": thus Arabic nom. *'abū-*, acc. *'abā*, gen. *'abī* before suffixes, and so generally in the Semitic languages. This may be final *-w* assimilating, or it may be a long vowel inserted as compensation after a bi-literal stem.

'm (*'mm*) "mother": Arabic *'umm*; Hebrew *'ēm*; Assyrian *ummu.*

ym (*ymm, ywm*) "day": Arabic *yawm*; Hebrew *yōm*; Assyrian *immu.*

In any case these two consonant stems are not numerous, although, as will be noticed, they include some very common nouns.

109 (II) Vocalization of Noun Stems

Nouns other than proper names may generally be divided into three leading classes: (i) common nouns denoting concrete objects; (ii) adjectives and participles; and (iii) abstract nouns, including the N. Verbi and infinitive. The older and commoner nouns belong to class (i), whilst the abstract nouns of class (iii) are presumably of later formation.

(1) *qatl*, (2) *qitl*, (3) *qutl*

These are three very common noun forms showing words of all three classes enumerated above. In Abyssinian (2) and (3) are confused together in one *qetl* (*qetel*) type (cf. 47, 48). Where the case endings are obsolete a vowel is of necessity inserted between the second and third radicals (cf. 68 above), thus *kalb-* " dog ", Hebrew *keleb*, with suffix *kalbi* ; Aramaic *k^{e}leb*, emphatic *kalbâ*. So Assyrian construct *kalab*, absolute *kalb-u*, etc. For roots with semi-vowel as medial or final radical cf. §§ 51, 52. With initial *y-* Hebrew adds afformative *-t*, thus root *yšb*, infin. *šebeth* (cf. § 149).

(4) *qatal*

Also a common type of all three classes. Hebrew *qātál* (cf. § 46, chap. iii), but Aram. *q^{e}tal*, *qatlâ*, as (1) with 2nd or 3rd laryngal, etc.

(5) *qital*, (6) *qutal*

These two are frequently interchanged : but normally (5) appears in concrete nouns, (6) in adjectives, whilst both are found in abstracts. They are confused as *qĕtal* in Abyssinian. In Hebrew (6) may appear as *qūtāl* in more ancient forms as the pr.n. *Ṣū'ār*, but generally and regularly it becomes *qōtāl* as *šōfār* " trumpet ", rarely *qōtăl*, *qūtăl* as in *Ṣōfăr* (pr.n. in Job ii, 11) and *sūgăr* " cage ".

(7) *qatil*, and by assimilation (8) *qitil*

These are found represented in all three classes. In Hebrew (7) *qatil* becomes *qātēl*, *q^{e}tēlī*, or assimilates as (8) *q^{e}tēl* in the absolute, e.g. *p^{e}'ēr* " ornament ".

(9) *qatul*, and by assimilation (10) *qutul*

(9) in concrete nouns and adjectives, (10) more commonly in abstract nouns.

We turn next to the forms containing a long vowel, as :—

(11) *qātil*

This is the commonest form for the N. Agentis and active participle (cf. sect. 147 below), and appears also as an abstract type. Hebrew *qōtēl*, etc.

(12) *qātīl* and (13) *qātūl*

These are distinctively Aramaic types, the former as the usual Syriac passive participle (cf. 147). Arabic contains some loan words from Aramaic of type (13) as *sāʿūr*, etc., and perhaps some native examples in such words as *ʿāt̲h̲ūr*.

(14) *qatāl*, (15) *qitāl*, (16) *qutāl*

The two former have examples of all three classes, the last is mainly adjectives (especially diminutives) and abstract nouns. In Hebrew *q*^{e}*tōl* seems to correspond with Arabic (15) and (16), although we also find *qĕtōl* for (15). These forms make feminine *qatalat*, *qitalat*, *qutulat* shortening the second vowel (cf. Barth, *Nominalbildung*).

(17) *qatīl*, and by assimilation (18) *qitīl*

Chiefly adjectives, abstract nouns also of type (17). Feminines as *qatilat*, *qitilat*.

(19) *qatūl*, and assimilated (20) *qutūl*

Adjectives and abstract nouns. Fem. *qatulat*, etc. Abyssinian nouns *qĕtūl* for (19) and either *qĕtūl* or *qūtūl* for (20); both these latter are rare. In (19) Hebrew may have *qātōl* or *qātūl*, as *yāqōš* (Hos. ix, 8), and the same word as *yāqūš* in Ps. xci, 3.

Passing to forms with doubled medial, we have :—

(21) *qattal*, (22) *qittal*, (23) *quttal*, (24) *qittil*, (25) *qattul*, (26) *quttul*, and (27) *quttūl*

The types *qutayl*, etc., are treated as stems with informatives (cf. 114). Deverbals from verb stems with added *n-* or *t-*

must be classed under the verb themes which show these preformatives, whilst stems with *m*-, etc., are treated below (§§ 110–13).

110 (III) Noun Stems with preformatives

(i) *Preformative m*-

(*a*) *Arabic*

(1) The preformative *ma*- (*mu*- before stems containing more than three consonants) denotes the time or place of the action or state designated by the root, or the place abounding in or producing the material denoted by the parent noun ; or the abstract or N. Verbi in deverbal forms, or the participle (verbal adjective).

(*a*) *Time :* وَلَدَ "bear child", مَوْلَدٌ "birthday".

(*β*) *Place :* قَصَدَ "repair to", مَقْصِدٌ "place aimed at"; دَخَلَ "enter", مَدْخَلٌ "entry"; سَكَنَ "dwell", مَسْكِنٌ "dwelling"; غَرَبَ "set (sun, etc.)", مَغْرِبٌ "west"; أَسَدٌ "lion", مَأْسَدٌ "place full of lions"; صَلَّى "pray" (conj. ii), مُصَلًّى "oratory"; سَجَدَ "bow down", مَسْجِدٌ "mosque", etc.

(*γ*) *Abstract, N. Verbi, Infinitive :* أَكَلَ "eat", مَأْكَل "act of eating"; جَلُدَ "be patient", infin. مَجْلُود. Also with afformative -*t*, as حمد "praise", infin. مَحْمَدَة. Sometimes *maqtal* is the N. Verbi where *maqtil* is the noun of place or time, thus جلس "sit", infin. مَجْلَس, but مَجْلِس "place where tribunal sits".

(δ) *Participle:* passive ptc. of the Primary stem as مَقْتُول; all participles of the derived stems, as مُقَتَّل (intens.), مُقْتَل (caus.), etc.

(2) Preformative *mi-* denotes instrument, sometimes also the living agent; thus فَتَحَ "open", مِفْتَح "key"; so مِبْرَد "file" (*mabrad* in dialect, Egypt, 'Iraq); with *-t* as مِكْنَسَة "broom".

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

(1) *ma-* instrument, object, agent. Thus *'aḍada* "reap", *ma'ḍad* "sickle"; *šārara* "found", *mašarat* "foundation", etc.

(2) *ma-*, *me-* (for *mi-*) denoting place, as *šāraqa* "rise (of the sun, etc.)", *mešraq* "east"; *sakaba* "lie", *meskab* "bed": with initial *w-*, *mūlād* "birthplace".

(3) *ma-*, *me-*, abstract, etc. In Amharic the infinitive regularly with *ma-*. Thus *'arafa* "rest", *me'raf* "rest (noun)".

(4) *ma-* with the participles, *maqattal*, etc.

(*c*) *Hebrew*

Generally *ma-*, *mi-*, are not strictly specialized in meaning, but depend more on phonetic influences. Usually *mă-* is preserved before a laryngal or in double closure, *mā-* appears in an open syllable before the tone, *mĕ-*, *mĭ-*, m^e- are produced by the operation of the phonetic rules already given (cf. sect. 46).

(1) *Place, time.* עַיִן "fountain", מַעְיָן "place abounding

in fountains"; טָמַן "lay up", מַטְמוֹן "storehouse"; קָם "stand up", מָקוֹם "place"; זָבַח "slaughter", מִזְבֵּחַ "altar, place of slaughter"; שָׁכַן "dwell", מִשְׁכָּן "dwelling"; etc.

(2) *Instrument.* פתח "open", מַפְתֵּחַ "key"; אכל "eat", מַאֲכֶלֶת "knife"; סוד "capture", מָסוֹד "net"; etc.

(3) *Abstract.* כלל "complete", מִכְלָל or מִכְלוֹל "completion"; adjective אָפֵל "dark", מַאֲפֵל "darkness"; שפט "to judge", מִשְׁפָּט "judgment".

(4) *Participles.* Intensive as מְקַטֵּל, etc., and causative as מַקְטִיל, etc.

Verbs with radical semi-vowel as יצא form deverbal nouns, as מוֹצָא "going out". Verbs med. gem. as מַהֲלָל, or מָסָךְ (√סכך) or מֵסַב, i.e. first syllable opened and vowel increased. Initial *n-* as נסע "bend (a bow)", מַסָּע "weapon" (for *מַנְסָע).

(*d*) *Aramaic*

As in Hebrew the vocalization of *m-* depends mainly on phonetic conditions.

(1) *Place, time.* דבח "to slaughter", מַדְבַּח "altar" (Ezra vii, 17), Syriac ܡܰܕܒܚܳܐ; שׁכן "dwell", מִשְׁכַּן, Syriac ܡܰܫܟܰܢ "dwelling"; etc.

(2) *Instrument.* אזן "weigh", מֹאזַנְיָן "scales" (Dan. v, 27); ܠܩܛ "extract", ܡܰܠܩܛܳܐ "forceps".

(3) *Abstract.* ܢܦܩ "go out", ܡܰܦܩ "a going out"; so infinitives of the derived stems as intensive ܡܦܰܩܳܘ, causative ܡܰܦܳܩܘ, ܡܰܦܩܳܘ, etc.

(4) *Participles.* Passive מַעֲבַד "work done" (Dan. iv,

34), ܡܩܛܠ ܡܩܛܠܬܐ, etc. Active ܡܩܛܠܢܐ, etc. Deverbal adjective as ܥܒܶܕ "do", ܡܥܰܒܕܳܢܳܐ "active".

(*e*) *Assyrian*

In Assyrian *m-* becomes *n-* before a stem containing a labial or labial sonant.

(1) *Place, time.—škn* "sit", *maškanu* "place"; *'lk* "go", *mālaku* "way".

(2) *Instrument.—rkb* "ride", *narkabu* "chariot".

(3) *Abstract.—rāmu* "love", *narāmu* "love (noun)"; *pḫr* "collect", *napḫaru* "totality".

(4) *Participle, agent, object, etc.—banu* "create", *nabnitu* "creature". So *mu-*, *nu-* in participles of the derived conjugations.

(*f*) *General note on the m- preformative*

This *m-* preformative appears in ancient Egyptian, as in *mḫ't* "scales" from *ḫ'* "measure", *mnḫt* "oil" from *nḫ* "anoint", *mśdhr* "sleep" from *śdhr* "to sleep", etc. Cf. Coptic ⲙⲁ- "place", prefixed in ⲙⲁ ⲛⲥⲱⲛ̅ϩ̅ "prison" from ⲥⲱⲛ̅ϩ̅ "bind"; ⲙⲁ ⲛϩⲱⲧ̅ⲡ̅ "west" from ϩⲱⲧ̅ⲡ̅ "go down", etc. Similarly, Libyan, though rarely, as in *moutfen* "entry" from *atef* "enter" (dialect Ouargla), *meǎša* "food" from *eš* "eat" (Tlemsen); and in Hausa to express the agent, as *gudu* "run", *maigudu* "fugitive", *saki* "weave", *masaki* "weaver", etc.

111 (ii) Preformative t-

This preformative appears in derivatives from verbal stems in *t-* (reflexive passive, cf. sect. 140), and sometimes as a kind of variant of *m-*.

(*a*) *Arabic*

In common use as infinitive of the intensitive, as تَقْتِيلٌ تَقْتِلَةٌ; hence verbal noun and deverbal abstract, as

حلل "dispense", تَحْلِيل "dispensation". Cf. تَيْسِير "prosperity", تَهْلُكَة "danger", abstract, where مَهْلَكَة denotes the concrete "place of danger". In concrete nouns, denoting agent, etc., as وكاء "lean on", تُكَأَة "walking-stick", تِمْثَال "image, likeness", more concrete than مِثَال "pattern". Some female names, as تَخْمُرُ, etc., cf. final fem. *-at* and Libyan use of fem. as prefix and suffix *t-t* (cf. sect. 115 below).

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

Apparently only in loan words, as *tagbar* "work", *te'ezāz* "commandment", etc.

(*c*) *Hebrew*

תּוֹלָד "generation", from ולד "bear child"; לִמֵּד (intens.) "teach", hence passive תַּלְמִיד "pupil".

(*d*) *Aramaic*

ܬܠܡܝܕܐ "pupil" (cf. above), ܬܫܒܘܪܐ "pride", etc.

(*e*) *Assyrian*

maḫar "oppose", *tamḫaru* "battle"; *anaḫu* "sigh", *taniḫu* "sighing"; *talittu* = Arabic لِدَة, etc. Also as informative (metathesis) in *gitmalu* "perfect" from *gamālu* "to complete"; *ritpāšu* "wide" from *rpš* "be wide".

112 (iii) Preformative y-

Such a preformative seems to occur in proper names which were originally sentences, as يَشْكُرُ, يَقْدُمُ, etc., or in Hebrew which commenced with the name of God, as יוֹתָם, etc. Laying these aside, we have instances of *y*- equivalent to *m*-, as خَضِرَ "be green", يَخْضُور "verdant meadow", or as showing a modified sense as in يَنْخُوب "timid", where مَنْخُوب means "feeble", and يَمْحُوم "black smoke", compared with مَمْحُوم "feverish". In Hebrew we have יְנִיקָה "stem", יַנְשׁוּף "owl", יַחְמוּר "kind of goat", etc. In Syriac ܝܰܪܒܽܘܥ = Arabic يَرْبُوع "jerboa", the derivation is presumably from ربع : ܝܰܒܪܽܘܚܳܐ "mandrake" is a compound ܝܰܗܒ "give" and ܪܽܘܚܳܐ "desire, spirit", i.e. aphrodisiac, hence Arabic loan word يَبْرُوح.

113 (iv) Preformative Hamza

Most often preformative Hamza simply results from a prosthetic vowel (cf. sect. 66), as *rb*ʻ "four", Arabic أَرْبَع, etc., but there are cases in which it is a true formative, as (1) in broken plurals in Arabic and Abyssinian; (2) in some abstract forms; and (3) in some concrete nouns. Thus (1) in broken plurals we have Arabic أَقْتُل, أَقْتَال, أَقْتِلَة, etc. (cf. 124), and in Abyssinian *'aḥqūl*, plur. of *ḥaqel* "field", *'azne'et*, plur. of *zane'* "seed", etc. (2) As an abstract preformative we find it in such forms as Arabic أُضْلُول "mistake", Abyssinian *'awḍā'ī* "leading out", from *waḍa'a* "go out", showing the trace of derivation through the causative formation of the verb, which probably accounts for most noun preformatives of this type. Hebrew אֵיתָן “ strength ”, or more commonly as *h-* (cf. the causative of the verb) in הַמְשֵׁל “ authority ”, הִתּוּךְ “ a pouring out ”, etc. (3) As a concrete formative we find it in Arabic أَزْمَل “ confused sound ”, أَثْلَب “ stones mixed with earth ”, Abyssinian *’agaqaṣ* “ door ”, Hebrew אֶתְנָן “ wages ”, אַבְנֵט “ girdle ”, the *h-* form being more generally appropriated to abstract nouns, Assyrian *ikrību* “ prayer ”, from *krb* “ ask ”, etc.

114 (IV) Informatives

In a certain number of stems we find an informative semivowel resulting in types (1) *qawtal*, (2) *qutyal*, (3) *qatwal*, (4) *qittawl*, (5) *qitwall*, and (6) *qityal*. Some of these may be instances of dissimilation, e.g. *qawtal* may be dissimilated from *qattal* (cf. 32, v, vi, above). Only the first two types are found with any degree of frequency, and it is only in type (2) which represents the diminutive that we can assign any particular semantic value.

(1) *qawtal*, as Arabic حَوْزَل, Hebrew גּוֹזָל “ young dove ”. But many of this type in Hebrew are deverbals of the Po el group of med. gem. stems, e.g. עוֹלָל “ child ” (cf. §§ 31, 32).

(2) *qutyal*, diminutives, as Arabic كُلَيْب “ little dog ”, from كَلْب “ dog ”, and Hebrew זְעֵיר “ little ”.

(3) *qatwal*, Arabic قَعْوَش “ broken down old man ”.

(4) *qittawl*, Arabic طِمَّوْر, very rare alternative for طُمَّر “ utmost ”.

(5) *qitwall*, Arabic عِثْوَلّ "weak minded" (rare).

(6) *qityal*, Arabic حِذْيَل "short".

115 (V) Noun Afformatives

These all definitely denote feminines, abstracts, collectives, etc., or are deverbal derivatives.

(*a*) *Afformative -at, -t*

This is common to all the Semitic languages and appears also in Hamitic. Thus ancient Egyptian *sn* "brother", *snt* "sister", etc. So in Libyan, but there both as afformative and preformative, as *founas* "bull", *tefounest* "cow" (Siwah dialect); Bishari as *tekk* "man", *teket* "woman"; Galla *hame* "good", fem. *ham-tu*; Hausa *karia* "dog", *kariata* "bitch".

(1) As *-t*. Arabic أَخ "brother", أَخْت "sister", اِبْن "son", بنْت "daughter". Hebrew מוֹאֲבִי "Moabite", fem. מוֹאֲבִית, etc. Assyrian *ṭab-u* "good", fem. *ṭab-tu*. Abyssinian *walad* "child", fem. *walat* for *waladt*.

(2) As *-at*, the commonest form. In Hebrew, Aramaic, and Arabic dialect this *-at* becomes *-ā* as final, i.e. if not protected by a suffix or annexed genitive, and so in classical Arabic in pause. Thus Arabic عَظِيم "great", fem. عَظِيمَة, etc. Hebrew סוּס "horse", סוּסָה "mare", construct סוּסַת. Assyrian *šarr-u* "king", fem. *šarr-at-u*. Abyssinian more commonly *-t* or *-ĕt*.

(3) With *'aḥ*, *ḥam* we find *-āt*, as though compensatory with a bi-literal root, thus Arabic حَمَاة, Abyssinian *ḥamāt*, Hebrew חָמוֹת.

In the examples given above *-t*, *-at*, is a feminine afformative, but it is also used to derive abstract nouns from verbs or adjectives, and similarly it is employed in the formation of nouns denoting office or profession; thus Arabic زَهَادَةٌ "piety", خِلَافَةٌ "office of Ḥalif"; Hebrew טוֹבָה "goodness"; Abyssinian *šanāyt* "beauty" (from *šanāy* "beautiful"); Assyrian *ṭab-t-u* "goodness", etc.

Closely allied to these abstracts are the Nomina Speciei, deverbal nouns describing the manner of doing the action of the verb, thus in Arabic in the form *qitlat* as رِكْبَةٌ "manner of riding", from رَكِبَ "ride".

As the formative of an adjective we find Assyrian *pū* "mouth", *pīāt* "belonging to the mouth".

The termination *-t*, *-at*, is also employed to derive the name of the individual from the collective, as Arabic بَقَرٌ "cattle", بَقَرَةٌ "cow"; Abyssinian *lūl* "pearls", *lūlāt* "a single pearl"; Hebrew שֵׂעָר "hair", שַׂעֲרָה "single hair", etc.

116 (b) Afformative -y, -ī

(1) This afformative occurs most often in the formation of Gentile names, but is applied by analogy to other adjectival forms. Thus Arabic *-iyy*, *-īy*, fem. *-iyyat*, as شَأْم "Syria", شَأْمِيٌّ "Syrian"; Hebrew *-iyy*, *-ī*, fem. *-īt*, as יִשְׂרְאֵלִי "Israelite", עִבְרִי "Hebrew"; Abyssinian *-ī*, fem. *-īt*, as *ḥarrāsī* "ploughman", more commonly in combination with *-āw*, *-ā*, as *kerestīyānāwī* "Christian", *'aiyāwī* or *'aiyāy* "like"; Aramaic as ܪ̈ܗܘܡܝܐ "Roman", ܡܨܪ̈ܝܐ "Egyptian",

etc.; Assyrian *-iy* (*-iyu*>*-ū*), fem. *-īt* or *-ay* (*-aya*>*-ā*, indeclinable), as *aššurū* " Assyrian ", *ṣidūnā* " Sidonian ".

(2) Abstract nouns; rare use of *-ī* alone to denote abstracts, thus Aramaic שְׁרֹשִׁי (Marti. שְׁרֹשׁוּ, cf. below) " rooting out " (Ezra vii, 26), Assyrian *-iy-u*>*-ū*, as in *purrūsū* " decision ". Frequently, however, this *-i* is combined with *-t*, as in Arabic *-īyat*, *-iyyat*, or *-ayat*, e.g. كَرَاهَة or كَرَاهِيَة " abhorrence ", and لَقَانَة or لَقَانِيَة " intelligence ", the added *-iy-* apparently making no difference in the meaning; Abyssinian *nestīt* " smallness " from *na'asa* " be small "; Hebrew רֵאשִׁית " beginning "; Aramaic ܡܥܡܘܕܝܬܐ " baptism ".

(3) Feminine. In the 2nd person singular of the pronoun (cf. 79) and of the verb (cf. 146) and in the plur. *-īn*, etc. (id.). Also in some Hebrew female names as שָׂרַי (Gen. xvi, 1), Phoenician לרבתי " mistress " (Cooke, NSI. 13, 3), and as *-ē* (<*-ay*) in אֶשְׂרֵי " ten " in fem. numerals 11–19 in Hebrew, and י- in Samaritan fem. numerals. Aramaic *-ī* in אָחֳרִי, fem. of אָחֳרִין " another " (Bib. Aram.), and so in the papyri: *-ē* (*-ēy*) in Targ. and T.B. as זוּטַרְתֵּי " little (finger) ", חֲדַתֵּי " new (year) ". Abyssinian *-i* in *'aḥatti* for *'aḥadti*, fem. of *'aḥadu* " one ".

117 (c) Afformative Hamza

(1) As feminine afformative, in Arabic adjectives denoting colour or bodily defect, thus أَصْفَرُ " yellow ", fem. صَفْرَاءُ, etc. Adjectives in *-ān* make fem. in *-ā'* or *-ā*, thus جَذْلَانُ " joyful ", fem. جَذْلَاءُ; سَكْرَانُ " drunken ", fem. سَكْرَا.

(2) As abstract afformative, Arabic *-a'* in هَيْجَاءُ, etc., and type *qutalā'* for *qutāl*, and *'aqtilā'* for *'aqtilat*, e.g. أَصِحَّاءُ = أَصِحَّةُ, etc. Abyssinian *-ā* or *-ō* with suffixed *-t*, as *qĕdĕsāt* " holiness ", infin. *nabībōt* " to advise ", also with afformative *-n* as *qĕdsĕnā* " holiness ", and without suffix in *'afeqrō* " to love " infin. Hebrew with suffixed *-t* in חָכְמוֹת " wisdom ", etc.

118 (d) Afformative -n

(1) Abstract. Arabic *-an* as خَفَقَان " trembling ", from خَفَقَ " to tremble " ; سَكْرَان " thanks ", etc. Abyssinian *-ān* as *beḍ'ān* " blessedness ", or *-nā* as in *qadsenā* " holiness ". Hebrew *-ōn* as רְעָבוֹן " famine " (Gen. xlii, 19), אֲבַדּוֹן " destruction " ; Aram. *-ōn*, *-ān* as דִּכְרוֹן (Ezra vi, 2), דָּכְרָן (id. iv, 15) " memory " ; Assyrian as in *dulḫān-u*. Also in combination with *-t*, *-at*, as Arabic بِلَغْنَة, Abyssinian *'abednat* " madness ", Hebrew בָּשְׁנָה " shame " (Hos. x, 6), etc.

(2) Only occasionally does *-ān* appear as a feminine afformative in North Semitic, thus Hebrew עֲקַלָּתוֹן " tortuous " (Isa. xxvii, 1), Aramaic אֵמְתָנִי " fruitful " (Dan. vii, 7).

(3) As an adjectival formative in Arabic خَلْبَنٌ " foolish ", بِلَغْنٌ " tale bearing ", عَطْشَان " thirsty " ; Abyssinian *tekūrān* " black " ; Hebrew אַחֲרוֹן " last ", תִּכוֹן " inner ".

119 (e) Afformative -m

Afformative *-m* appears in adjectives صِلْخَام " hard ", حُلْكُمٌ " very black ".

120 (f) Afformative -û

Afformative -*ū* (ܽܘ, ܽܘܬܳܐ) appears as an abstract formation in Aramaic, and so in loan words in Arabic and later Hebrew, thus ܡܰܠܟܽܘܬܳܐ "kingdom", Arabic ملكوت, Hebrew מַלְכוּת (1 Chron. xii, 23). It seems allied to afformative -*ī*, thus נְוָלוּ (Ezra vi, 11), as equivalent to נְוָלִי (Dan. ii, 5). It appears in Syriac in the infinitive of the secondary stems of the verb.

121 (B) Gender

One of the most marked characteristics of the Semitic and Hamitic languages lies in the distinction of genders, a point which was taken by Lipsius as itself the test of Semitic-Hamitic kinship amongst the languages of Africa.

Grammatical gender to us suggests sex distinction, but this does not appear to have been its original import, for most of the oldest words used to denote females are not feminine in form; either the male and female are called by quite different names, or the same word is used to denote both male and female without the sign of the feminine in the latter case. This includes many kinds of animals of which we may suppose that in earlier times men had not had occasion to note a distinction of sex.

Grammatically we may group gender forms under three heads—(i) the older type in which the feminine denotes the female, but is not derived from the root used for the corresponding masculine; (ii) the nouns in which the same form is used to denote either sex; and (iii) the derived feminines made by the addition of an afformative, not always denoting the female sex. Assyrian and ancient Egyptian stand alone in adding the feminine afformative *-t*, *-at* to all names of females, thus ancient Egyptian *mw-t* "mother" as though from masc. *mw*, although no such root exists to denote "father"; Arabic نَفْس "soul", Assyrian *napiš-t-* with feminine afformative. But, as we have seen above, the afformatives *-t*, *-at*, etc., are used not only to form feminines but also for abstract and collective nouns, etc. It may be that these afformatives are relics of a "class" system such as still exists in the Bantu languages.

122 (C) Number

(*a*) *The Plural*

Probably the oldest type of plural is that which shows the reduplication of the singular, or part of the singular, root; thus in Somali *'ad* "white", plur. *'ad'ad*; *der* "tall", plur. *derder*; and by partial reduplication, Kafa *bako* "hand", plur. *bakiko*, *buše* "maiden", plur. *bušiše*; Hausa *yasa* "finger", plur. *yasosi*; and probably in such ancient Egyptian forms as *i'r'r* "vine". Some traces of such forms survive in Semitic as *may* "water" in Hebrew, construct plur. *meme* (also *mē*); so *pē* "mouth", plur. *pipi-ōth* (Ps. cxlix, 6). So Aramaic *rab* "great", plur. רברבן (Cooke, NSI, 63, 10).

A second type of plural occurs in the use of the singular as plural without change, i.e. a singular used collectively as Hebrew *'ādām* "man" for mankind.

A third type of plural is the collective proper derived from the singular by the addition of an afformative, for which purpose the same afformatives *-t*, *-at*, *-y*, etc., as used as for the feminine and abstract.

A fifth kind of plural is formed by internal modification (broken plural), which is derivation by vowel change instead of by the addition of a formative. In fact, this implies the use of some stem form which is collective or abstract as a plural, e.g. *qutul* (cf. 109) as plural of *qatāl*, *qitāl*, *qutāl*, *qatīl*, *qatūl*, etc., as *firās* "bed", plur. *furus*. This particular kind of plural, or the use of a collective formation in place of a plural, is principally developed in Arabic and Abyssinian.

123 (b) Plural formatives

The plural or collective formatives are substantially the same as those which we have already seen employed to form the feminine, abstract, etc. Thus :—

(i) *-at*, *-t* : collective, as Arabic *kam'* "mushroom", plur. *kam'at*; Hebrew *dāg* "fish", plur. *dāgā*, cf. *'ōyĕbĕθ* "company of exiles" (Mic. vii, 8). All these in *-at* are essentially collective.

(ii) *-y*, *-ī* : Abyssinian, plurals in *-ī* before suffixes, thus plur. *'abaw* "fathers", suffix *'abaw-ī-hū* "his fathers", etc. This *-ī* is added to plurals of every formation before the suffix. Hebrew and Aramaic construct plur. *-ay*, unaccented *-ē* (cf. 49). Assyrian *-ē* appears as a plural formative, but in reality this is the acc.-gen. termination which in later forms of the language is used more or less carelessly for any case (cf. 126).

(iii) *-ān* : Arabic as in *'ibidān* "servants", *insān* "men" : as *qitlān*, plural of *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*, *qatal*, *qutal*, *qutāl*; as *qutlān*, plural of *qatl*, *qitl*, *qatal*, *qatīl*, *qātil*, *qitāl*, *qutāl*. Abyssinian *-ān* as regular plural of masculine adjectives, names of trades, occupations, etc., as *qasisān* "priests". In Tigré as *-ām*. Hebrew *-ōn* in collective *'izbōn-īm* "traffic" (Ezek. xxvii, 19). Aramaic, chiefly as plural of nouns denoting rank or condiments, as *rawr*^{e}*bāne* "magnates". Assyrian *ilāni* "gods", etc., but here again *-āni* is properly the termination of the oblique cases (cf. 126).

124 (c) The Broken Plurals

The broken plurals are noun formations of the type described in sect. 109, originally collective, which have to a great extent displaced the ordinary plurals in South Semitic. This is most obviously the case in those which have the types *qatal*, *qital*, *qutal*, from which the nouns denoting individual members are derived by the addition of afformative *-at*, thus رُكَب "knees", sing. رُكْبَة. Some others (*qatalat*, *qitālat*, *qitlat*, etc.) show the afformative employed to denote the collective group. So the very common broken plural of the type *qatl* is most often purely collective, as قَوْم "people". Plurals of this kind are most frequent in Arabic and Abyssinian, and appear also in Sabæan as אתמרם "fruits", sing. תמרם (ם- is mimation, cf. sect. 132), ולדם "children", אדומת̄ם "feudatories", sing. אדמם. Although collective formations occur freely in North Semitic, we find no developed use of collectives as replacing plurals there.

125 (d) The Dual

The dual does not appear to be of very early date, as it is obviously secondary and derivative. On the other hand, it is in the process of decay in all the Semitic languages. Its characteristic is the suffix *-ay*. In Arabic masculine nouns this shows in nominative *-ay*>*-ā*, and in the oblique cases *-ay*; thus construct, nom. *-ā*, gen. acc. *-ay*, otherwise nom. *-āni*, gen. acc. *-ayni*; and so in the feminine. With this we may compare ancient Egyptian *-y* added either to the plur. *-w* or to the fem. *-t*. The added nunation gives *-āna*>*-āni* by dissimilation, the oblique cases *-ay-ni* by analogy with the nominative.

In Abyssinian rare traces survive in which *-ay*>*-ē* (cf. 49), thus *kel'ē* "two", cf. Arabic *kilāni* "both"; *'edē-* "both hands" before suffixes only.

Hebrew has *-ay*, which appears in the construct, and so *yaday* " two hands " (Ezek. xiii, 18), rarely *-ē* as in *šnē* " two " in the combination *šnē ʿāśār* " twelve ". With mimation *yādayim* " two days ", etc. Like the ancient Egyptian and Arabic the fem. dual adds this *-ay* to the fem. *-at*, thus *śāfā* " lip ", dual *ś*^{e}*fāt̲h̲ayim*, construct *śif*^{e}*t̲h̲ē*.

Aramaic shows *-ay* in the two words *y*^{e}*day* " hands ", *raglay* " feet ". Syriac has *-ē*, which appears only in *t*^{e}*rēn* " two ", fem. *tartēn*, and *mat̲h̲ēn* (ܡܐܬ̈ܝܢ) " two hundred ".

Assyrian in the old and middle forms of the language has masc. *-ā* (from *-ay*), oblique cases *-ē*, fem. *-t-ā*, *-t-ē*. These occur rarely in the later forms of the language.

In modern Arabic dialect adjectives have entirely lost the dual termination, which is obsolescent throughout, and usually the feminine singular is employed in qualifying a dual noun, thus *raglen talyaniya* " two Italian men " (Egyptian dialect), or the adjective may be in the plural, as *ir-raglen taiyibin* " the two good men " (id.).

In Hebrew an adjective qualifying two nouns is in the plural, not dual, as in Gen. xl, 5.

126 (D) The Cases

Three cases appear in Semitic, and are distinguished by vowel endings, nominative *-u*, genitive *-i*, accusative *-a*, and there are traces also of a fourth, the adverbial case, whose vowel ending was *-u* like the nominative. The genitive *-i* suggests comparison with the formative *-iy-*, *-i* (cf. 121), as denoting " belonging to . . .", etc., in adjectives. The accusative has been associated with the demonstrative *ha* (cf. 89), and actually appears as *-hā* in Abyssinian proper names (cf. below). With rather less confidence the nominative has been connected with the personal pronoun *hu*.

Originally these case endings seem to have been long in quantity, and are generally so preserved in the plural and as attached to the words *'ab* "father", *'aḫ* "brother", *ḥam* "father-in-law" (cf. 108) before suffixed pronominal forms (cf. 82).

The general history of the Semitic case endings shows (i) the shortening of the vowels in the singular, (ii) a tendency to discard short final case endings, and (iii) in certain languages a tendency to confuse some or all of the cases.

(*a*) *Arabic*

In classical Arabic all three cases appear as *-ŭ*, *-ĭ*, *-ă*, save with the words *'ab*, etc., and a few others which retain the long vowel endings before suffixed pronouns, as nom. *'abūk*, gen. *'abīk*, acc. *'abāk*, etc., and short case endings also appear with the *-āt* of the fem. plur. In the sing. nouns ending in *-iw*, *-iy* (not *-iyy* or *-iy*) the nom. *-iyu* becomes *-i* and thus assimilates to the genitive so that we have only the two case endings nom. gen. *-i*, acc. *-a*, as in *qaḍi* "a judge"; whilst others ending in *-aw*, *-ay* show *-a* for all three cases. In the plural the accusative has been entirely absorbed in the genitive, leaving only the two case endings nom. *-ū*, gen. acc. *-ī*, and this has been reproduced in the dual (cf. 125). The adverbial case is preserved as *-u* in the adverbs *qablu* "before", *taḥtu* "under", etc.

In vernacular Arabic the short case endings are lost; even before consonant suffixes they are commonly replaced by inserted vowels as described in sect. 68. It has been noted that *'ab*, *'aḥ*, etc., retain their case vowels long before consonant terminations but not before 1st sing. *-ī* in classical Arabic. In dialect, as a rule, one of the case vowels is retained and serves for all cases, and sometimes this is employed even before the 1st sing., which then appears as *-ya* or *-y* (cf. 82). In the plural the gen. *-ī* serves for all cases. Thus in dialect, even where some of the case endings are preserved, all distinction between cases is lost.

(*b*) *Abyssinian*

Abyssinian preserves acc. *-ă*, the gen. *-ĕ* (for *-ĭ*) having fallen away as a final but being retained before suffixes, as *negūš-ĕ-ka, negūš-a-ka* " thy king ". Proper names, however, retain the full accusative *-hā*, which may be the original form of this case. The nouns *'ab*, *'aḫ*, *ḥam*, show gen. *-ū* and acc. *-ā*. The true nominative *-ū* and acc. *-ă* are preserved in the numerals 1–10, thus masc. nom. *'aḥadū*, acc. *'aḥadă* " one ", fem. acc. *'aḥată* (for *'aḥadta*, cf. 23), and nom. fem. *-ti*. The adverbial case appears as *-u* in the adverbs *taḥtū* " under ", *qadīmū* " formerly ", etc.

(*c*) *Hebrew*

Iu Hebrew the accusative *-ā* is preserved in the sense of direction towards, as *lᵉma‘lā* " upwards ", *Bābĕlā* " towards Babylon ", *bayθā* " homewards ", and so even with a preceding preposition as *mibbābĕlā* " from the direction of Babylon " (Jer. xxvii, 16), and in the sense of time in *‘attā* " now ", and *miyyāmīm yāmīmā* " from year to year ". A more direct use of the acc. termination appears in Isa. viii, 23, " he lightly afflicted the land (*'arṣā*) of Zebulun and the land (id.) of Naphtali."

The nouns *'ab*, *'aḫ*, *ḥam*, preserve the genitive ending and no other before consonantal suffixes, as *'abīka*, etc. The gen. *-ī* or *-ē* is the only case ending retained in the plural where we find *-īm* and construct *-ay*, *-ē* (cf. 49). Genitive *-ī* occurs also in Ps. cx, 4, *‘al-dibrāθī Malki-ṣedek* " according to the order of Melchisedek ", and sometimes is added to the construct as *bᵉnī 'ᵃθōnō* " his ass's colt " (Gen. xlix, 11), as well as in such proper names as *Gabri-el*, and Punic *Hannibal* (" favour of Baal ").

Nominative *-ū* is found in some proper names as *Pᵉnu-'ēl*, Punic *Hasdru-bal*, and as exclamatory (vocative) *-ō* in *bᵉnō Ṣippōr* (Num. xxiii, 18). The adverbial case appears as *-ō* with added mimation (cf. 132) in *šilšōm* "the day before yesterday".

(*d*) *Aramaic*

Nominative *-u* appears with the nouns *'ab*, *'aḫ*, *ḥam* before suffixes. Gen. *-i* (*-in*, *-e*, *-ay*) is, as in Hebrew, the one case ending retained in the plural. It is possibly preserved in *-e-* before suffixed *-k* of the 2nd fem. sing. and *-h* of the 3rd masc. sing. Accusative *-a-* is perhaps the connecting vowel before masc. sing. *-k* and before the plural suffixes, but these inserted vowels may have a merely phonetic origin, as 3rd sing. fem. *-ah* for *-ha*, 2nd *-ek* for *-ki* by metathesis.

(*e*) *Assyrian*

The three case endings are employed in the older Babylonian, but at an early date they began to be used without careful discrimination, and in neo-Assyrian all are in use but are confused without any adherence to their original meaning. The adverbial case appears in such forms as *sepu'a* "at my feet".

127 (a) The Construct

The Arabic grammarians describe the relation between a noun and its dependent genitive as "annexation" (إِضَافَةٌ). In it are two elements, the ruling noun which may be in any case according to the part it plays in the logical meaning of the sentence, but has certain peculiarities of form which are expressed by stating that it is in the "construct", and the genitive annexed to the regent or ruler.

The annexation forms a very close tie between these two nouns so that normally no other word can intervene between them, although this rule has exceptions, especially in poetical and rhetorical expressions. Thus, if the noun has a qualifying adjective, which normally follows the substantive it qualifies, this adjective must be deferred until after the genitive so that " the glorious book of God " becomes " the book-of-God the glorious " ; so if two words depend on the same genitive, the second is normally deferred and the genitive repeated to prevent the second word intervening between the first regent and its genitive, thus " Zayd's sword and spear " becomes " the sword of Zayd and his spear ", and so we have " the sons of David and his daughters " or " the sons of David and the daughters of David ", not " the sons and daughters of David ", although we do get this latter form in poetical passages such as " the knowledge and fear of the Lord " (Isa. xi, 2). Similarly, a construct should not depend on two genitives because the first genitive intervenes between the construct and the second genitive, so " the creation of heaven and earth " becomes " the creation of heaven and the creation of earth " and " the God of the heavens and the God of the earth " (Gen. xxiv, 3), and " the bones of the kings of Judah, and the bones of his princes, and the bones of the priests, and the bones of the prophets, and the bones of the inhabitants of Jerusalem " (Jer. viii, 1) ; but we do find " the Lord God's creating of earth and heavens " (Gen. ii, 4).

In annexation the construct comes first, the genitive follows, and the two are so closely allied that they are regarded as one word. In feminine nouns, for example, where the termination *-at* has become *-ā* (Hebrew, Aramaic, Arabic dialect) as final (cf. 17*c*), the *-at* is preserved by a suffix or by an annexed genitive. In the construct a noun is defined by the following genitive, and therefore (i) it does not take the article as it is already determinate (cf. 132), and (ii) it cannot possess the indefinite nunation or mimation (cf. 132), and so we have Arabic construct *qaṣṣābu* from *qaṣṣābun,* and plur. *qaṣṣābū* not *qaṣṣābūna,* and so Hebrew construct plur. *malkē* for *malkīm,* etc. We are thus unable to use the genitive to express an indefinite regent, and " a daughter of the king " must be expressed by the help of a preposition, " a daughter to the king " or " a daughter from the daughters of the king ".

In classical Arabic, early Babylonian, and Abyssinian, the case endings are more or less preserved, but the general tendency to lose or confuse these endings caused other languages either to lay greater emphasis upon the other characteristics of the annexation or to introduce accessory elements. The former alternative appears in modern Arabic. In the genitive proper, known to the grammarians as the logical or true genitive, the construct cannot have the article whilst the dependent genitive must be defined either by the article, or by a possessive pronoun, or by its own nature as a proper name. Thus the external mark of the annexation is now the undefined noun immediately followed by the defined, e.g. *ḫubz el-walad* " the boy's bread ", or *ḫubz Muhammad* " Muhammad's bread ", the genitive having no other expression than the fact that it is a strictly defined noun immediately following a noun not formally defined, and the freedom from any word intervening, etc., must be rigidly observed.

128 (b) The relative as denoting the genitive

In Hebrew the genitive relation is generally clear enough from the fact that the dependent genitive immediately follows the ruler, and because the ruler very often, but not always, shows that it is in the construct by a difference of form due to the shifting of accent and modification of syllabic form as the result of close annexation. But this was not always free from ambiguity, and in later Hebrew we find a tendency to insert a relative followed by the preposition *l-*, a circumlocution used in older Hebrew to avoid possible confusion when a genitive immediately follows another genitive, as " the chief of the herdsmen of Saul", which appears "the chief of the herdsmen which (are) to Saul" (אבִיר הָרֹעִים אֲשֶׁר לְשָׁאוּל, 1 Sam. xxi, 8). In later Hebrew this אֲשֶׁר לְ contracts to שֶׁלְ by assimilation (cf. 29). The relative itself, which appears as prefixed שֶׁ in Ecclesiastes and Song, did not become a genitive prefix in Hebrew without the following preposition לְ, but it appears thus alone in Punic (cf. Cooke, NSI. xxxix, 2; xli, 2). These are later developments, but in Assyrian the use of the kindred *ša* as a relative pronoun and also as a genitive preposition appears very much earlier, thus *ṣiru ša Bēl* "priest of Bel" in the tablet of Ramman-Nirari, *circ.* 1325 B.C.

Whilst the relative *ša*, *'ašer*, thus developed a use as a genitive preposition in Assyrian, Hebrew, and Punic, the other relative *dā*, etc., developed a similar use in Aramaic and Abyssinian. In Aramaic this appears as prefix *dᵉ-*, *da-*, which is used both as relative and genitive preposition, as ܒܪܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ ܚܝܐ "son of the living God" (St. Matt. xvi, 16), very often, as here, with the possessive pronoun suffixed to the construct. So the Abyssinian relative sing. masc. *za*, fem. *'enta*, plur. *'ella* is regularly used as a genitive prefix, as *'elat 'abāy 'enta kwenanē* "the great day of judgment", etc., and sometimes a parallel use of *de*, *da*, etc., occurs in Morocco, South Arabic, and with *li* in Mehri.

All the Semitic languages except Arabic thus developed a genitive use of the relative by which "king of Egypt" became "king who [of] Egypt", thus making the relative the construct in apposition with the ruling noun.

In all the Semitic languages without exception a prepositional construction with "to", "from", or "in" can generally be substituted for the genitive, although this is done more freely in Abyssinian than elsewhere, thus Hebrew *haṣṣōfīm lᵉšā'ūl* "the scouts (belonging) to Saul". This is the usual construction when the genitive stands as the predicate, as Arabic *had̲h̲ā al-kitābu lī* " this book (is) mine ".

129 (c) Other means of avoiding the direct construct

Sometimes the direct use of the construct is avoided by means of a noun in apposition used in the construct, a device very common when the genitive qualifies and does not determine, as in nick-names, genitive abstract replacing an adjective, etc. This is parallel with the use of the relative which we have already considered, and in later forms tends to produce a genitive preposition. Thus for " the man of sin " we may have " the man (son) of sin ", etc. There are certain words thus employed very commonly in Semitic, and the convenience of these is that in such a form as " the man (son) of sin " the peculiar construct form is taken by " son ", so that only these standard constructs need be used without affecting the stem of the noun which is the real regent.

The commonest words of this kind are: (i) " father " or " mother ", and other names of relationship, as " son of six hundred years " for " six hundred years old " (Gen. vii, 6), " sons of the poor " (Ps. lxxii, 4), etc. (ii) " Master " or " owner ", Arabic masc. *d̲h̲ū*, fem. *d̲h̲ā* akin to the relative pronoun, Hebrew *baʿal*, Aramaic *bᵉʿel*, Abyssinian *bāʿla*, Tigriña *beʿāl*, Mehri *baʿl*, as in Hebrew *baʿal śēʿār* " a hairy man " (2 Kings i, 8), etc.; and Aramaic *rēš*, Arabic *rāʿī* (Oman), and Tigriña *rāʿi*. (iii) " Man " or " people ", as Hebrew *'anšē-rāʿ* " bad men " (Prov. xxviii, 5), etc.

From these have arisen several quasi-prepositions governing the genitive and not requiring the regent noun to be placed in the construct; such are, in modern Arabic, *betāʿ* (*metāʿ*) " owner " in the dialects of Egypt and Palestine, *tabaʿ* " belonging to " (Palestine), *šīt* (Damascus), *māl* (ʿIraq), *hagg* or *haqq* (Haḍramaut).

130 (d) Later forms of the accusative

The short vowel case endings are obsolete in modern Arabic save for some rare survivals as in Moroccan *al-yuma* " to-day ", and so in Hebrew and Aramaic. For the most part the object case is denoted only by *position*, the object following the subject; in modern Arabic this position is very commonly emphasized by placing the subject before the verb, the object after it.

The accusative of the personal pronoun is properly expressed by the pronominal suffix (cf. 81), but we also find it denoted by an accusative particle with the pronoun suffixed, thus in Arabic *’iyyā*, as *’iyyāka* " thee ", etc. In the Abyssinian of Tigriña this appears as *’et-iy-*, e.g. *’etiyu*, etc., and in Hebrew as *’ōṯh-*, e.g. *’ōṯhō* " him " (Mishna אותו), Phoenician *yth*. In Hebrew, however, it is not confined to the accusative of the personal pronoun, but is extended to accusative substantives defined by the definite article, by a suffix, or in annexation with a following genitive, or as being a proper name, in all such cases appearing as *’ēth* or *’ĕth-*. The same particle appears in older Aramaic as אית (papyri), later *yath* (Dan. iii, 12, etc.), and so Syriac, where we also find *wath* in the combination *’akwath-* for *ka-wath-* followed by a pronominal suffix denoting " like ". The corresponding form in Assyrian is *k-iy-ya-* with suffix as *kīyahu* " him ".

131 (e) Adverbial use of the accusative

Although there are traces of an adverbial case in *-u*, as in Arabic *qaṭṭu* " ever ", *ba‘du* " afterwards ", etc., we find also an accusative form used adverbially chiefly in Arabic, thus *’abadan* " ever ", *daḥilan* " within ", *ma‘an* " together ", *’alāna* " now ", *kayfa* " how ", etc., the indefinite nunation being added (cf. 132). So Arabic *laylan* " by night ", *sabaha masa’a* " every morning and evening "; Abyssinian *ahatta ellata* " one day "; Hebrew *atta* " now " (Joshua xiv, 11, *-eth* " time ") or " presently " (Job vi, 3); Assyrian *uma* " now ", *eninna* " now ", *matima* " at any time ", *la sakipu musa u imma* " not resting night or day " (King, *First Steps*, p. 127).

And so, generally, in all the Semitic languages the accusative is used adverbially to express time how long, time when, and manner, circumstances, etc. (حال), as Arabic *karra zayd-un 'asadan* " Zayd charged (like a) lion ", etc.

132 (E) Determination and Indetermination

Determination means the definition of a noun as denoting a particular person or thing as distinct from the common noun, which is applicable to any member of a class. Thus the proper noun is determined by its own nature; but common nouns may become determined in various ways.

(*a*) A noun may be determined by the use of a demonstrative, either (1) " this " designating the thing referred to as the one near at hand, or (2) " that " designating it as the one remote, both of these implying a pointing out of the thing referred to, or (3) it may be defined by the article " the ", which implies that it is already known. For the two former demonstratives cf. §§ 88 sqq. (above). It is here sufficient to note that Semitic generally uses these in combination with the definite article, where that article exists.

For the definite article Arabic uses the demonstrative *-l-* (cf. 91), Nabatæan אל (Cooke, NSI. 105). Hebrew uses the prefixed demonstrative *ha-* (cf. 89). In Aramaic this appears as suffixed *-a*, the so-called " emphatic " form, but here the determining force is generally lost. In later Aramaic and Syriac we often find a redundant use of the pronominal suffixes as equivalent to the article, and this is of regular occurrence in the Philoxenian version. In Samaritan both prefixed *ha-* and suffixed *-a* occur, never, of course, together, but the latter is much the more common. No definite article appears in Assyrian or Abyssinian save in Tigré dialect, where we find *la-*. Like Aramaic, Abyssinian often conveys the determining or demonstrative sense by the use of a redundant suffix, as *be'sī* " man ", *be'sīhū* " this man ", etc.

(*b*) A noun is also determined by the use of a possessive suffix, as " my book ", which restricts the common noun " book " to one individual article known and defined.

(*c*) The construct is also defined by the following genitive. Thus the common noun " house " becomes definite and individual in the phrase " the house of the king ". English, indeed, uses the definite article " the " before " house " in this expression, but Semitic does not attach the article to the construct, as the noun is sufficiently defined by the following genitive (cf. 127).

Indetermination means that the noun is left indefined, and so is applicable to any member of a class. Anciently the indeterminate was marked by the addition of *-n* (Arabic, Aramaic, Abyssinian) or *-m* (Hebrew, Assyrian) to the termination, but where the short final vowels have fallen away this suffixed *n*/*m* has also disappeared. Thus classical Arabic *kalb-un* " a dog " appears as *kalb* in modern dialect and *keleb* in Hebrew, etc. In the plural the *n*/*m* is retained after the long vowel in all indetermined nouns and in nouns determined simply by the article, but disappears when they are defined by a following genitive or by a suffixed pronoun.

This added *-m* (*-n*) is perhaps from *mā* " something " used as a sign of the indefinite (cf. 101, 102). In Assyrian it early ceased to convey an indeterminate sense, and there, as well as in Hebrew and Aramaic, the only trace we find of its indeterminate character is its omission from the construct plurals. Mimation occurs also as *-ām* in Hebrew singulars as *'āmnām* from *'ōmĕn*, *hinnām* from *hēn*, *rēqām* from *rēq*, and adverbially in *yōmām* " to-day " (Deut. i, 39). In Syriac the indeterminate sense is so completely lost that it can take the suffixed *-a*, originally a defining article, as *imâmâ* " to-day ".

133 (F) Comparison of Adjectives

In Hebrew the comparative is marked simply by the use of the preposition *min* " than ", as חָכָם אַתָּה מִדָּנִיאֵל " thou art wiser than Daniel " (Ezek. xxviii, 3) ; and the superlative is most commonly denoted by *kŏl(l)* " all " after *min*, as " the serpent was the most cunning of all (= cunning than all) the beasts of the field " (Gen. iii, 1). Sometimes *b(a)-* " in " is used for *min*, as " the least of the nations " קָטֹן בַּאוים (Jer. xlix, 15), or the adjective is in the construct followed by the substantive in the genitive, as זִקְנֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים " the oldest of the priests " (Isa. xxxvii, 2). Akin to this is the construct adjective followed by the same adjective in the construct plural, as קֹדֶשׁ הַקֳּדָשִׁים " holy of holies ", i.e. " most holy ", and so with indetermined substantives, as עֶבֶד עֲבָדִים " servant of servants ", " lowest servant ". The superlative may also be expressed by the use of some term denoting primary importance in the construct with a plural adjective or descriptive substantive in the genitive, as רֹאשׁ שִׂמְחָתִי " chief of my joy " = " my chief joy " (Ps. cxxxvii, 6).

In all these cases, it will be noted, there is no morphological type expressing the comparative or superlative.

In Aramaic we find closely parallel constructions. The comparative is denoted by the ordinary (positive) adjective, followed by the prep. *men* " than ", often reinforced by *ṭâb* or *yat͟hir* ; the superlative is expressed in the same way as in Hebrew. So in Abyssinian we find the comparative denoted by the use of *'emna* (Tigré *men*) after the adjective, the superlative by *'emna kuellu* " than all ".

In Arabic the comparative and superlative take the form *aqtal-u*, as *'aḥsanu* " more beautiful ", etc. As comparatives these are followed by *min* " than ", the same forms becoming superlative by the definition of the following substantive, either by the use of the article or by the construct and genitive, as *huwa 'afḍalu raǧulin* " he is the best of men " or *ar-raǧulu-l-'afḍalu* " the best man ". Certain other forms, *qatl*, also appear as comparatives. The association of these particular noun types with the comparative-superlative is probably a later development, as it has no parallel in the other Semitic languages; similar forms appear in Hebrew, as *'akhzāb* " lying ", *'akhzār* " fierce ", but without any trace of comparative or superlative meaning.

XI

THE VERB

134 (i) The Verb Stem

In verb forms we may distinguish four elements—(1) the root which is normally a framework of three consonants in itself neither verb nor noun; (2) the formatives which appear as consonantal additions to the root modifying its meaning in derived formations; (3) the vocalization which is partly employed as a means of forming a noun or verb from the root with or without added formatives, partly connected with the formative additions, and partly due to phonetic requirements, in order that the resultant word may have a syllabic form which can be pronounced; and (4) the additions, suffixed or prefixed, which are used to express persons, moods, etc. Although the vowels are partly formative, and partly phonetic additions, it is convenient to treat the vocalization under one heading, as the resultant is modified by the same phonetic conditions. Thus the Arabic (conj. x) *istaqtala* contains the root *q-t-l*, the formatives *s-* and *t-*, the verb stem has its vowel *-a-* as *s-t-q-tal-*, the formatives are properly vocalized *sa-*, *ta-*, but the resultant *sataqtal-* becomes *-staqtal-*, the first consonant being vocalized either by the final vowel of a preceding word or by a prefixed *i-*, and if the word comes after pause by *i-* preceded by Hamza (cf. 66) to this (*i*)*staqtal-* the personal ending *-a*, *-ta*, etc., is added.

(i) *The Root*

The root is a consonantal framework from which the verb or noun stem is formed. Normally this root appears as three consonants. Sometimes the number is apparently reduced by the assimilation of one or more of these three, or by the quiescence of one if it happens to be a semi-vowel; and sometimes we find four or more consonants, either by the addition of a formative which has become permanently attached and whose original character has been lost sight of, or by the combination of two roots with or without subsequent elision; or by additions whose nature can no longer be accurately accounted for, though it seems most probable that it originally was due to a formative or to composition. There has been much discussion as to whether a bi-consonantal root may not lie beneath the three consonant skeleton which now appears as the framework of most Semitic verbs, and it seems very probable that this is the case. It will, however, be best to reserve this until we discuss noun stems, which show a very wide diversity of structure and include some clearly bi-consonantal ones: whatever may have been the case in proto-Semitic or in the parent language, which we may call pre-Semitic, the common Semitic verb form shows definitely a tri-consonantal norm which must be presumed to have arisen at a very early stage, and which is now characteristic of the Semitic languages. Unlike the noun, the verb does not show a great variety of stem vocalizations; for the most part these run through a very limited number of variations, and these are confined to the primary theme (Arabic conj. i, Hebrew Qal).

135 (ii) Verb Themes

The several formations of the verb stem are commonly known as conjugations, a word which is not altogether convenient, as they do not at all correspond with the conjugations so called, for example, in the Latin grammar, and they are represented by parallel formations in the Indo-European languages, to which the name of conjugations has never been applied. French writers call them *thèmes* (e.g. Meillet, *Les Langues Indo-Europ.*, 4th ed., Paris, 1915), whilst German writers call them *Stammformen* (e.g. Brockelmann, *Grundriss*, etc., Berlin, 1908), and some such term is distinctly preferable to "conjugation". For the purpose we shall employ the name "themes", because "stem" implies a vocalized and therefore more fully developed formation than that which we have in view at the moment; thus *q-t-l* is the root, *qatal-*, *qattal-* are stems, but we shall give the name of *theme* to the root with (or without) the addition of a formative previous to vocalization, as *q-tt-l-*. In the Indo-European languages also we have verb themes or stems composed of root and formative, but there those themes denoting the inceptive, causative, etc., have not developed in use like the tenses, moods, and voices, but seem to have suffered a check at a fairly early stage. Whilst verbs generally have moods, tenses, etc., and transitive verbs have different voices, only a certain limited number can form inceptives, causatives, etc.—it is no regular part of a verb's inflexion. In Semitic the case is otherwise. The Semitic tense development did not expand freely: the two original Semitic tenses alone appear until we reach the period of decay in Aramaic, modern Arabic, and ancient Egyptian, which seems to have had a premature development so early and so pronounced as to put it out of line with the rest of the Semitic languages. On the other hand, the themes or derived stems are very much more regular and in general use than is the case with the Indo-European languages.

The themes follow five leading types:—

(1) The primary theme, which shows the root vocalized without the addition of a formative.

(2) The intensitive, derived from the primary by doubling one or more of the radical consonants.

(3) The causative, with preformative *š*/*s* or *h*/*ʾ*.

(4) The passive, with preformative *n*-.

(5) The passive-reflexive, with preformative *t*-.

Not all these are in equally vigorous life. The *n*- passive (4) is obsolete in Aramaic, save in a few very early instances, and nearly so in Ethiopic; whilst in Hebrew the passive-reflexive is generally confined to the intensive instead of being freely combined with any of the other themes. On the other hand, in some cases, and notably in Ethiopic and Assyrian, there is much freedom of combination by which means a large variety of stems is produced. Very often the primary theme itself does not exist, but it is very rarely that the intensive is missing, even though the primary may be obsolete. Under the intensive we include the conative (Arabic conj. iii), as it seems to be derived from the intensive by a phonetic change, and it is only in Arabic that it has fully developed its specialized meaning.

136 (1) *The Primary Theme* shows the plain root from which the stem is formed by vocalization. This will be treated in due course (cf. below).

137 (2) *The Intensive Theme* is formed by doubling one or more of the radical consonants.

(*a*) *Theme q-tt-l*

This is the commonest type, with doubled medial, and this appears in general use in all the Semitic languages. It is used to express the intensive, as Arabic قَتَلَ " kill ", قَتَّلَ " slaughter ", the act or state being extended to many objects, or done by many agents, or often repeated. This intension or extension seems to be the basal meaning of the form, but it is also employed to derive a verb stem from a noun form, as Arabic خَيْمَة " tent ", خَيَّمَ " pitch a tent ", etc., and so has developed a semi-causative sense which encroaches on the causative proper. Thus it commonly happens in all the Semitic languages that an intransitive verb becomes transitive when it is put in the intensitive, as فَرِحَ "be glad", فَرَّحَ "gladden", and also that a transitive verb becomes doubly so, i.e. governs two direct objects, when it is put in the intensitive, as عَلِمَ "to know", عَلَّمَ "to teach". In North Semitic (Hebrew and Aramaic) a laryngal or *r* is incapable of doubling, and so, when such a consonant stands as medial radical, the doubling theoretically takes place, and then one member falls away with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel, thus primary ברך, intensitive **bĭrrēkh* > *bērēkh* (בֵּרֵךְ). In neo-Syriac this and all other derived themes add preformative *m*^{e}-, as ܡܦܠܛ "put out" from ܦܠܛ "go out", although in the dialect of Urmi, etc., this *m*- is silent (cf. Maclean, *Vernacular Syriac*, sect. 35 (5)), and in East Syriac there is a strong tendency to ignore the doubling of the medial (id. 87*c*). This doubling of the medial is the most usual intensitive form in ancient Egyptian, as *sḏm, sḏḏm* "hear", etc., and occurs also in Libyan tri-consonantal roots, as Kabyle *ekrez* "boil", intensitive *kerrez*, *eknez* "scratch", *kemmez*, etc., and appears in a slightly different form in such words as *eġz* "fold", intensitive *aqaz*, *ḍel* "cover", intensitive *dal*, where *ġġ* regularly becomes *qq* and *ḍḍ* becomes *dd.*

In Arabic verbs med. gemin. we sometimes find an alternative form with elision of the third radical, as قَصَّى for قَصَّصَ "to plaster".

(*b*) *Theme q-t-l-l-*

Doubling of the final radical. In Arabic this is specialized as conj. ix, *iqtalla*, and conj. xi, *iqtālla*, chiefly of verbs denoting colour or bodily defect, as اِسْوَدَّ or اِسْوَادَّ "be black". An uncontracted form (*iqtalala*) occurs with some final *w*/*y* verbs, as اِرْعَوَى "refrain", and so Ethiopic *sardada* and the forms of the quadriliteral verb as *'akmōsasa* "ridicule" for **kamasasa*, etc.

In Hebrew we find רענן "be green", שׁאנן "be at rest", and similar forms, and in the Amarna letters *ušḫiḫin, ištaḫiḫin.* Aramaic ערבב (Targ. Jer. i, Gen. xi, 9), and hence Talm. Jer. מתערבבין (Keth. 25*a*), מערבבתא (R. Peth. 23). Assyrian *ušparir, šuqalulu.*

(*c*) *Theme q-tq-l*

Chiefly with mediæ gemin. verbs, or those having medial semi-vowel as Arabic بَلْبَلَ from بَلَّ, etc. Ethiopic *lamōlama* "shoot out buds or leaves", Amharic *lamalama*, etc., with -*ă*- inserted in the medial group as is usual in Amharic. Hebrew גלגל "roll" (Jer. lxi, 25) from גלל, שׁעשׁע "delight" (Ps. xciv, 19) from שׁעע, and from hollow verbs טלטל "cast forth" (Isa. xxii, 17), כלכל "sustain" (Jer. vi, 11), קרקר "undermine" (Num. xxiv, 7; Isa. xxii, 6), etc. In Bib. Aram. we find הרהר "conceive" (Dan. iv, 2), and so in Syriac ܗܡܗܡ, etc. In the Targums and T.B. it is a very common form from hollow verbs, as זעזע "agitate" (Targ. Jer. i, Gen. xxxii, 25), הרהר "suppose" (T.B. Sabb. 8*d*), קלקל "starve" (T.B. Sanhed. 23*c*, Abod. Zara, 42*a*), also from ע׳ע as זְלְזֵיל (T.B. Keth. 50*a*), and from initial *n*-verbs such as מתרתר "thrown" from נתר (T.B. Ter. 46*b*), מטלטל "agitated" (T.B. Joma, 40*b*, from נטל). Similar forms occur very frequently in neo-Syriac (Maclean, *Vernac. Syr.*, 83*a*), but always with preformative *m*ᵉ- as ܡܒܠܒܠܐ "bubble",

ܡܓܠܓܠ "make round", ܡܫܚܫܚ "get warm", etc. It appears also in Assyrian, chiefly from med. gem. verbs, as *dandanu* from *dnn* "be very strong", etc.

This form has an interesting parallel in ancient Egyptian, where we find verbs containing a semi-vowel radical reduplicated and then reduced by elision of the semi-vowel; thus *gby* "be weak", intensive **gbygby>gbgb*: such a treatment applied to a root with a medial semi-vowel would produce exactly the same result as appears in Semitic. In the Hamitic languages corresponding intensitives are produced from bi-consonantal roots, thus Bishari *hemhem-ya* "neigh" (with auxiliary *-ya*), Kafa *kare* "fight", intensive *karkare* "fight continually", Galla *ademe ademe* "keep on going", Somali *go* "cut", *gogo* "cut in pieces", Hausa *sani* "sit", causative *san-ši*, causative intensive *sansan-ši.*

It would seem that here we have one of the oldest types of reduplication, but although there are many early stems formed on these lines, it is a curious fact that it is commonest in the modern dialects of Arabic and neo-Syriac. Perhaps it may be as Hurwitz (*Root Determinatives*, p. 49) suggests that this formation was retained embedded in Semitic consciousness as an available means of intensifying a verb meaning.

(*d*) *Theme q-t-lt-l-*

Duplication of the last two radicals as Hebrew סְחַרְחַר "palpitate" (Ps. xxxviii, 11) from סחר "go round"; so חמרמר "ferment violently" (Lam. i, 20; ii, 11; Job. xvi, 6), הפכפך "be crooked" (Prov. xxi, 8), and parallels in noun forms such as אֲדַמְדֶּמֶת "reddish", חֲלַקְלַקּוֹת "slippery (places)" (Ps. xxxv, 6), פתלתל "deceitful" (Deut. xxxii, 5), שחרחר "black" (Song of Sol. i, 6), etc. In Bib. Aram. we find the derived noun שְׁפַרְפְּרָא (Dan. vi, 20) and in Syriac ܫܠܡܠܡ "render safe" from ܫܠܡ, ܐܬܚܪܡܪܡ "be excommunicated ", etc., with traces of the same formation in nouns, as ܚܘܪܘܪܐ "milky way" from ܚܘܪ "white", etc. In Arabic we have the noun forms عَرَكْرَكٌ "strong", عَرَمْرَمٌ "heavy", etc. (Barth, *Nominalb.* 145–7). As a verb theme this appears with dissimilation, by which *q-t-lt-l-* becomes *q-t-wt-l-* (conj. xii, cf. 34 above), as اِحْدَوْدَبَ "be hump-backed", اِخْضَوْضَرَ "become dark brown", etc., and by subsequent assimilation *q-t-ww-l-* (conj. xiii), as اِخْرَوَّطَ "to last long", etc. In Ethiopic this type occurs in *naṭabṭaba* "distil in drops", etc., and more commonly in derived noun forms such as *ḫamalmal* "green", *gabatbat* "colic" (Barth, *Nomin.* 147), and so in Amharic, where *qataltala* becomes *qatalatala* as in *fatalatala* "rub thin between the fingers", etc.

None of these are very common forms, but they are extremely interesting as showing a parallel to the ancient Egyptian methods of reduplication. There, as we have seen, the whole root is reduplicated and semi-vowels elided; but when the root does not contain a semi-vowel it is the second occurrence of the first radical which is elided, as *nhmhm* from *nhm*. Perhaps we may be justified in supposing that *qtltl* stands half-way between *qtlqtl* and *qttl* in historical evolution.

(*e*) *Theme q-t-q-l-*

This is a rare form which appears in a few examples such as كَرْكَبَ "disturb", from كَرَبَ "twist, distress".

(*f*) *Dissimilated themes*

A number of instances occur in which it seems that after the medial has been reduplicated *-tt-*, etc., one of the resultant consonants has become a sonant or semi-vowel by dissimilation (cf. 32), as حَنْجَرَ "kill by cutting the throat", from root حَجَرَ "scarify and draw blood", etc. Sometimes the meaning is modified so as to suggest that the sonant or semi-vowel is an informative, but sufficient instances remain to show that in some cases at least this is simply dissimilation. It is particularly common with mediæ gemin. verbs in Abyssinian and Assyrian, as Ethiopic *ḥanbaba* "run to seed" for *ḥabbaba,* etc., and in many instances the meaning is essentially the same as that of the *qttl* form. There is considerable freedom in producing these dissimilated forms in later Arabic dialects and neo-Syriac, thus Egyptian Arabic *hangam* or *hargam* "burst in" from هَجَمَ "intrude", and *ta'arqal* for تَعَقَّلَ "be intelligent"; T.B. שַׁרְבֵּב "cause to drag" (Erub. 102*b*), אֶגְרְדַם "be lopped off" (Men. 38*b*), and neo-Syriac *m*^{e}*barqes* "stir", *m*^{e}*hardef* "throw down", *m*^{e}*harbeq* "clasp, button", etc. Most often it is the first consonant which is thus dissimilated, but sometimes we find the second so treated, as حدلق "look intently" from حدق "look at", etc. So תִּנְדַּע (Dan. ii, 30) for תִּדַּע in Bib. Aram., Mandæan מינדא (from the same root), ארטיל (Arabic عطل), etc.

The dissimilation of the first into a semi-vowel produces a diphthong which results in some dialects in a new vowel, thus Ethiopic *daggana* >**daygana* >*dēgana* (cf. 32 (1) vi) and so Tigré *hēbaba*; Egyptian Arabic *ḫōzaq* "impale" for خَوْزَقَ from خزق, etc.

(*g*) *Conative qātala*

Parallel to these dissimilated forms is that in which the duplication of the medial has taken place but has then failed, the loss of the consonant producing compensatory lengthening in the preceding vowel. We have already noted a later case of this kind where **birrēkh* has become בֵּרֵךְ, later because it had taken place after the ă in the closed unaccented syllable had become ĭ, but there are also cases in Arabic, etc., where original ă has become ā, and this ā has produced ō in Hebrew (cf. 43). In Arabic such forms are regular and appear as conj. iii قَاتَلَ with the specialized meaning of a conative, as قَاتَلَ " try to kill ". They occur also in Abyssinian. In Hebrew this formation is usual, but not universal, with mediæ gemin. verbs as סוֹבֵב, etc., thus רוֹצֵץ = רִצֵּץ " oppress " without change of meaning, but sometimes with meaning modified as סוֹבֵב " go about " (Eccles. i, 6), סִבֵּב " turn, change "; הוֹלֵל " make foolish ", הִלֵּל " exult " (both meanings " be foolish " and " be brilliant " in primary הלל), etc., and is reproduced by analogy in hollow verbs as קוֹמֵם from *qwm*, etc., which results in a superficial resemblance to the *qtll* type (cf. *b* above). Rare instances occur in other verbs as יוֹדַעְתִּי " I have appointed " (1 Sam. xxi, 3), מְשֹׁפְטִי (participle, Job ix, 15), שֹׁרֵשׁ " take root ". So Aramaic סוֹפֵק (Onq. and Jerus. Targ. I in Deut. ii, 7), מסובר (Onq. and Jerus. Targ. I in Deut. i, 31), מעופף (T.B. *Ḥull.* 51*b*), but the form *qlql* (cf. *c* above) is more usual in Syriac. In neo-Syriac we very often find *â* (ō) after the first radical to compensate for the disuse of duplication of the medial (cf. Maclean, *Vernac. Syriac*, sect. 87).

138 (3) The Causative Theme

The causative is formed by preformative *š*/*s*, *h*, or ’, originally, it would appear, with vowel -*ă*- (*šă*-, etc.). Of these forms *š* and *s* are related, as already described in sect. 111, *š* appearing in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Assyrian, *s* in Arabic and Abyssinian: leaving out Hebrew this would suggest original *ś*, which produces these correspondences in the other four languages, and it might be that Hebrew *š*, which only appears in a few rare survivals (cf. below), has suffered some contamination, perhaps from Assyrian. The *ś* causative actually does occur in ancient Egyptian. If this is the original form, we can understand the *š* of Assyrian and Aramaic, and the *s* of Arabic and Abyssinian; or it might be that we are here in face of philological changes earlier in date than those which generally appear. In Arabic we find another inconsistency, for in Mehri there is *š*- where we should expect *s*-. The apparent anomaly of *s*-, which sometimes appears in Aramaic instead of *š*-, is not a real difficulty, for original *ś* sometimes becomes *s* in Aramaic instead of *š*, and there is also the possibility of loan words from the Arabic (cf. below).

(*a*) *The š/s Form*

This is the only causative in Assyrian where it is in regular use, as *u-šapris*, *u-šaparras*, *u-šparris*, etc., from *i-paras* “ depart ”.

In Aramaic the *ša*- preformative (*šaqtel*, etc.) is more or less a survival, but still fairly frequent. In Bib. Aram. it occurs only with the root כלל “ finish ”, as שַׁכְלִלוּ (Ezra vi, 14), infin. לְשַׁכְלָלָה (Ezra v, 3, 9), and combined with reflexive *t*- in יְשַׁתַּכְלְלוּן (Ezra iv, 13). In Onqelos we find שׁכליל in אִשְׁתַּכְלַלוּ (Gen. ii, 1), שׁלהב “ burn ”, implied in noun שַׁלְהוֹבִית (Exod. iii, 2), etc., and Targ. Jer. שׁחררת (Gen. xxx, 9), etc., Mandæan שׁארגען. In Old Syriac ܫܰܘܕܰܥ =

ܐܘܫܪ "delay", Pesh. ܫܘܬܦ "communicate", ܫܡܠܝ "fill", ܫܥܒܕ "enslave", etc., and neo-Syriac ܡܫܒܗܪ "be proud", ܡܫܚܠܦ "change", ܡܫܥܒܕ "oppress", ܡܫܛܪܚ "sprawl" (Old Syriac ܛܪܚ, Aramaic טרח "be tired"), ܡܫܡܠܐ "be fulfilled", etc. In Aramaic we have also the *s*- formative in Syriac ܣܪܗܒ (T.B. סַרְהֵב) "hasten", ܣܩܒܠ "meet", Mandæan סארהעב, and neo-Syriac ܡܣܚܒܪ "visit" (ܚܒܪ "associate with"), ܡܣܪܥܕ "shiver" (from Arabic رعد, استرعد), ܡܣܪܗܒ "hasten", etc. It seems quite likely also that we have early *š*- formations, now reduced to tri-consonantal stems in שבק "tear away" (Hebrew בקק or בוק "be cleft"), שחם "burn brown" from חמם "be hot", ܫܚܪ "burn black" from חרר "burn", etc.

In Hebrew there are only survivals of the *š*- form in the nouns שַׁבְּלוּל "snail" (Ps. lviii, 9), implying causative שבלל from בלל "moisten", שַׁלְהֶבֶת "flame" (Job xv, 30, root להב "burn"), שְׁקַעֲרוּרֹת "hollows" (Lev. xiv, 37, קער "be deep"), and probably שקץ "loathe" from קוץ, שבר "break" from ברר "separate".

In Arabic and Abyssinian we expect a corresponding *s*-, but this occurs in Arabic only in rare cases, as سَلْقَى "throw prostrate", causative of لَقَى, سَقْلَبَ "throw anyone on his back" (قَلَبَ "turn upside down"), سلعف "swallow", and presumably in سَبَتَ "interrupt" from بَتَّ "sever", سَطَرَ "incise" from طَرَّ "cut", سَحَمَ "become black" from حَمَّ "burn", سَطَحَ "spread" from

طَحَّ or طَاحَ (id.), سَجَرَ "fill water pipe" from جَارَ "trickle". The causative *saqtala* is no longer used generally in Arabic, although it appears in Minæan causative סקני, but it is implied in the reflexive **sa-ta-qtal-* > (by metathesis) *istaqtala* (اِسْتَقْتَلَ, conj. x), which is the regular and only form of the causative reflexive (cf. Minæan סתמלא, etc.).

Precisely similar conditions appear in Abyssinian, where we find rare Ethiopic formative *'as-* (for *sa-*), as in *'asqōqawa* "lament", and the same preformative in the noun forms *saqōqāw* "lamentation", *sa'ōzāz* "stiffness", *saqōrār* "disdain"; whilst Amharic has some *sa-* survivals in *sanakkala* "stir up strife", etc. But causative **saqtala* is implied in the causative reflexive *'astaqtala, 'astaqatala, 'astaqōtela,* etc.

Mehri has causative forms شقتال and شقتول with *š-*.

As we have already noted, *ś-* causative appears in ancient Egyptian, as *ḫr* "fall", *śḫr* "make to fall"; *nfr* "be beautiful", *śnfr* "make beautiful", etc. So Libyan *s-* as *ers* "descend", *sers* "bring down"; Bishari *s-* or *is-*, as in *efdig* "leave", *isfedig* "send away", etc. In East African and Hausa this preformative becomes an afformative, and so we get Kafa *qay* "be complete", *qayis* "finish"; *ari-ye* "know" (*-ye* the auxiliary verb), *arise* "teach"; *uwe* "drink", *use* "give to drink"; Somali *oḫon* "know", *oḫonsi* "teach", and denominal forms as in *raḥa* "happiness", *raḥaisi* "make happy"; Galla *-s*(*a*) or *-z*(*a*) by variant of dialect, as *diga* "stand", *digaisa* "make to stand"; *fago* "distant", *fages* "remove"; *ḥino* "small", *ḥanes* "lessen"; *debia* "give back", *debiza* "bring back"; Hausa *tsai* "stand", causative formative *-še, tsaše* "place"; *če* "eat", *čiše* "feed"; *zamma* "sit", *zamnaše* "give anyone a seat".

It has been suggested that this *š*/*s* is the relic of an early root denoting " make ", but of this we have no definite knowledge. Turning from the Hamitic languages to the Sumerian, we find that a verbal infix *-ši-* occurs in verbs when associated with nouns having the causative suffix *-šu*, *-eš* (cf. Langdon, *Sumerian Gramm.*, §§ 90, 196, 198). Sumerian is not a Semitic language, but there seem to be points of contact which are worth noting, even though we are at present quite unable to explain them.

(*b*) *The h- Form*

The change from *š*/*s* to *h* appears in the Sabæan causative הקני for Minæan סקני (cf. 17*f* above), and in Mehri هقتال, هقتول as alternatives for شقتال, شقتول. In Arabic a few survivals of *h* occur in هراح " give rest to ", هراد " wish for ", هراق " pour out ", and هنار " attach ornamental border to cloth, etc.", which the native grammarians treat (incorrectly) as substitution (بدل) of ه for ء (cf. 10); and probably in هيمن " believe " (أمن), هاتِ " give ", and هبلّع " be voracious ", a combined causative and intensitive from بلع " swallow ", as well as in هجس " feel " from جسّ or جاس " feel for ".

In Hebrew *hă-*, which becomes *hĭ-* in a doubly closed unaccented syllable, is the regular form, as הִקְטִיל, הֵקִים, etc. In Aramaic it appears in older forms, as Bib. Aram. הַנְפֵּר (Dan. v, 2) and Zinjirli ויהאבדו (Cooke, NSI. lxv, 11, for retention of ה in the imperfect cf. Ezra iv, 13, תְּהַנְזִק, and Dan. vii, 24, יְהַשְׁפִּל), with a very few later survivals as T.B. הֵימִין "hold true", etc.

(*c*) *The '- Form*

The change from *h*- to '- can be seen in actual progress in Hebrew and Aramaic. In Hebrew ה is the usual form, but א appears occasionally, as in אֶגְאָלְתִּי "I have defiled" (Isa. lxii, 3) and infinitive אַשְׁכֵּים (Jer. xxv, 3). In Aramaic ה occurs in the older forms, but in the book of Daniel it is in course of being replaced by א, e.g. אֲקִימֵהּ (Dan. iii, 1), and in Syriac this latter form has entirely superseded the *h*- as ܐܩܛܠ, etc. So usually in T.B. as אודי (Berakh, 5*a*), cf. אפסיקת (Ber. Rab. 59), ארגישת (Aboda Zara, 41*a*), אעיל (Bab. B. 13), and similarly in the Targums as אגין "resolve" in Onq. and Jerus. I of Gen. vii, 16. In Phoenician the causative appears with *y*- as in יקדש, יטנע, etc., doubtless due to a weakening of Hamza (cf. 10).

Preformative Hamza is the regular use in Arabic (أَقْتَلَ conj. iv) and Abyssinian (*'aqtala*, etc.). In Tlemsen and Morocco this theme is rarely used, being generally replaced by the intensitive (Marçais, p. 76), but we find survivals such as *ssekber* (استكبر), and in Tlemsen an occasional use of preformative *y*- as يطفى (from طفى).

The apparent use of causative *m*- in neo-Syriac is no more than an instance of *m*- which is prefixed to all derived verb stems followed by a stem in which *'a*- has become *a*- by decay of the weak laryngal (cf. above); thus ܡܩ, causative reflexive ܐܬܡܩ, etc.

The rare appearance of ع as a causative preformative in Arabic, as in عَصْفَرَ "dye yellow" (صَفَّرَ ; اِصْفَرَّ "be yellow"), must be regarded as an instance of عَنْعَنَة (cf. 10). Sometimes this appears with a modification of meaning from the Hamza preformative, as أَبْهَلَ "let one do as he pleases", عَبْهَلَ "leave camel unguarded".

139 (4) The Passive with n-

The *n-* (*na-*) preformative is used to denote the passive or reflexive sense of the idea conveyed by the verb root, or to transfer it into the neuter meaning of the verb of state. It is defined by the Arabic grammarians as *quasi-passive* (مُطَاوِعٌ) of the primary, or of the causative, and sometimes, improperly, of the intensitive.

(*a*) In Arabic preformative *n-* (*na-*) has usually become *in-* (اِنْقَتَلَ, conj. vii), which assimilates with first radical *m-* (cf. 27), or informative *-an-* in quadriliterals, as اِحْرَنْجَمَ "be gathered in a crowd" from حَرْجَمَ. In 'Iraq it is the common form of the ordinary passive, and it is also used to denote impossibility or prohibition, as *hed durb mā yenmesi* "this road cannot be walked on" (Van Ess., p. 75), and it appears as the usual passive in North African, thus Moroccan *bănā* "build", *inbănā* "be built"; *qăḍā* "finish", *anqăḍā* "be finished"; Tlemsen *nsroq* "steal away"; Algerian *qta'* "cut", *enqata'* "be cut"; *ǧraḥ* "wound", *enǧraḥ* "be wounded", etc. In Egyptian and Tunisian this formation is practically obsolete.

The ordinary Arabic formation *in-* agrees with Sabæan *hn-* as in הנחפס from חפס.

(*b*) In Abyssinian the passive-reflexive *n-* is normally replaced by the form in *t-* (cf. sect. 140), but traces of *n-* occur in noun forms such as *naštaṭ* "ḥorror" from root *šaṭaṭa*. They appear also in quadriliterals and combined with other formatives, as *'anfar'asa*, passive of *far'asa*, and sometimes in forms of the type *tanqōtala*.

(*c*) In Hebrew this form is in regular use as a passive, either with preformative *ni-* (*na-*) or *hin-*, as נִקְטַל and הִקָּטֵל for *הִנְקָטֵל. It denotes (1) the passive of the primary stem, as ילד "bear (child)", נִיְלַד "be born"; (2) the passive of the intensitive or causative, as כִּבֵּד "honour", נִכְבַּד "be honoured", כִּחֵד "conceal", הִכְחִיד "cause to disappear", נִכְחַד as passive of both; (3) reciprocal, as שׁפט "judge", נִשְׁפַּט "go to law", נִשְׁאַל "ask for oneself"; and (4) it is used to form an intensitive denominal, as זָכָר "male", נִזְכַּר "be born a male".

(*d*) In Aramaic the *n-* passive is found only in early forms of the language, as in the Zinjirli inscription, where it appears combined with reflexive *t-* in התנאבו (Cooke, NSI. lxiii, 14), and in the modern dialect of Ma'lula, where it is introduced from the Arabic, as *inktil* "be killed" (*Palest. Explor. Fund*, Jan. 1890, p. 92).

(*e*) Assyrian shows the *n-* formative in free use, either alone, as in *apparas* for *anparas*, or combined with *t-*, as in *attapras* for *antapras*, or as *aptanaras* (i.e. either *nt-* or *tn-*), or in combination *ntn-*, as in *attanapras* for *antanapras*.

This *n-* preformative appears in ancient Egyptian, but its use is in process of decay; usually it is found in combination with other derivatives, thus with the intensive in *nḏdḏd* from *ḏd*, and with the causative and intensive in *snfḫfḫ* from root *fḫ*. It is common in Libyan, thus Kabyle *etš* " eat ", passive *metš* ; *zer* " see ", pass. *mzer* " be seen ", or as reciprocal " see one another " ; in Libyan *m-* usually appears as the correspondent of *n-*, but in Ahaggar dialect *m-* alone stands for the passive, *nm-* for the reflexive. As *sm-* or *ms-* it is used to form the Libyan causative passive. In Bishari we find *m-* passive, as in *mišoei* from *ešao* " increase ", and in *umhokuar* from *jehakur* " bind ", etc. In Mehri and in the Hamitic languages of Abyssinia this *n-*, *m-* formative does not occur, but in Somali we note passive afformative *-an*, as in *šuban* from *šub* " melt ", *buḥsan* from *buḥi* " fill " ; and so in Galla *-ma* as *egama*, passive of *ega* " wait for ", and in the formation of neuter verbs by the addition of *-m*, *-ma* to adjectives, as *dula* " old ", *dulama* " become old ", *ḫino* " small ", *ḫinom* " become small ". In Hausa also some verbs occur which form a passive by prefixing *an-* or *ana-*, as *kašše* " kill ", *ana-kašše* " be killed ".

140 (5) **The Reflexive in t-**

The reflexive in *t-*, which has practically replaced the *n*-passive in Aramaic and Abyssinian, is well represented in all the Semitic languages.

(*a*) In *Arabic* reflexive *t-* occurs as a preformative with the intensitive and conative, thus تَقَتَّلَ (conj. v) as reflexive of قَتَّلَ (conj. ii), and تَقَاتَلَ (conj. vi) as reflexive of قَاتَلَ (conj. iii) ; with metathesis it is attached to the primary, as قْتَتَلَ (conj. viii), reflexive of قَتَلَ (conj. i), and with metathesis of the formative in the causative, where the older *s*- form is preserved, thus اِسْتَقْتَلَ (conj. x), reflexive of أَقْتَلَ (conj. iv). With the intensitive and conative the preformative *t*- commonly appears with a half-vowel in the dialects of North Africa and Malta, as *tkellem* for تَكَلَّمَ (Tlemsen), and in the Tlemsen dialect conj. viii of verbs with initial radical dental or sibilant and medial semi-vowel is treated as though conj. v (for assimilations, etc., cf. sect. 22 above). In Egyptian Arabic conj. viii is used with metathesis as the reflexive, but a derived form without metathesis serves as passive, thus reflexive *iʿtamad*, passive *itḥabas*. In Tlemsen dialect there is also found a reflexive of conj. vii, in which the *t*- preformative is combined with the passive *n*-, a formation not found elsewhere, thus *ntkel* " be eatable " from أكل " eat", *nteqrâ* " be readable " from قرأ " read ", *ntḥöbb* " make oneself loved " (Marçais, p. 86).

Some triliteral stems with initial *t*- seem to have been formed in Arabic from roots with initial semi-vowel, as تقى " fear God " from وقى " call upon God ", and so causative أتلج " insert " from ولج. Sabæan shows reflexives in *t*- without metathesis when used in the intensitive, as תנבא, and with metathesis in formations from the primary stem, as in סתאל from סאל.

(*b*) *Abyssinian* shows a free use of reflexive *t*-. Thus from the primary stem we have reflexive *taqatala*, *taqatla*, etc., intensitive *taqattala*, conative *taqātala*, causative *'astaqtala*, etc., but before *n* the *t* sometimes [illegible]lly becomes *d* (cf. Assyrian) as *dansawa*, etc. Tigré *dangara*, Amharic *'adanaqwara*. In Tigriña the *t-* regularly assimilates to a consonant with which it is in immediate contact, thus *tasabra,* imperfect *yessabra* for *yetsabra,* and so *yeqqadef* "be forgiven", etc. (cf. sect. 22 above). As in Arabic the causative shows the older *s-* form in the reflexive *'astaqtala,* etc.

(*c*) In *Hebrew* the reflexive *t-* is used regularly only with the intensitive as הִתְקַטֵּל, etc., although occasional instances occur of primary reflexives, as הִתְפָּקְדוּ (Judges xx, 15), יִתְפָּקֵד (Judges xxi, 9), and הָתְפָּקְדוּ (passive, Num. i, 47), all, it will be noted, from the verb פקד, and in denominatives such as הִתְיָהְד "make oneself a Jew". The prefix shows -הָת, the *h-* perhaps due to the analogy of the causative. Only once is this *h-* absent, in the late form אֶתְחַבֵּר (2 Chron. xx, 35). Metathesis occurs with a first radical sibilant. Moabite also shows a reflexive primary with metathesis in הלתחם (Meša stele, line 11). Denominal forms occur in such words as הִתְרִיעַ "blow a broken blast", הִתְחִיל "make a beginning", תִּרְגֵּם "translate" (cf. Arabic رَجَمَ "conjecture"), and תָּרַם "offer up a heave offering".

(*d*) *Aramaic* employs reflexive *t-* freely in all conjugations. Thus Bib. Aram. with the primary stem אִתְגְּזֶרֶת (Dan. ii, 45), with the causative יִשְׁתַּכְלְלוּן (Ezra iv, 16). In Ezra the preformative is הִתְ as in Hebrew, but in Daniel it has become אִתְ and so Syriac ܐܬ݂. In T.B. it is אִת or אִית, the *-t-* assimilating to the following consonant (cf. sect. 22 above).

(*e*) In *Assyrian* reflexive *t-* is used freely in combination with any stem, metathesis taking place in all cases; thus primary *iptaras,* causative reflexive *uštapras,* intensitive reflexive *aptarras,* etc.

A *t-* formative occurs in ancient Egyptian, but does not appear to convey any reflexive sense; it appears in the earliest Egyptian with transitives and causatives, later with intransitives as well. In old Egyptian its form was *-t* or *-t’i*, in middle Egyptian *-t*, *-tw*, in later Egyptian *-tw* only, and in Coptic it has disappeared. Apparently both *ḫpr* and *ḫprt* mean “ become ”, and *pḥ* and *pḥt* “ arrive ”; no doubt the afformative originally modified the meaning, but in the earliest existing text the sense is lost, and the formative seems to be merely a survival. In Libyan, on the other hand, it is in full vigour, as (i) passive preformative *t-* (*ts-*), as in *tsegzem*, passive of *egzem* “ cut ” (Kabyle); (ii) passive *tou-* (*tsou-*) in *tsouaf*, passive of *af* “ find ” (id.); (iii) iterative *t-*, *ts-*, *th-*, as in *tsaf*, iterative of *af* “ find ” (Doubdou), *thebbi*, iterative of *ebbi* “ cut ” (Shilha), *thetsou* of *tsou* “ forget ” (Kabyle); (iv) in Twareg only as afformative *-t*, e.g. *emm* “ die ”, *emmout* (Ahaggar), but some rare survivals of this afformative occur in other dialects, e.g. *emmeth* (Haraktas and Zouaoua). As for the modification of meaning to iterative, it must be noted that in Semitic *t-* is not a true passive, e.g. عَلَّمَ “ teach ”, تَعَلَّمَ “ become learned ” as inceptive and quasi-passive, but distinct from the true passive “ be taught ”. In Bishari we find reflexive *et-*, as *ektem* “ arrive ”, reflexive *etketam*, *eṣem* “ call ”, reflexive *etṣoṣam*, etc. In East African, as usual, this becomes an afformative *-te*, thus Kafa *uw* “ drink ”, stative *uw-we*, stative reflexive *uw-we-te*, *baje* “ hinder ”, reflexive *bajite*, and similarly in Saho, Bilin, and Hamara speech. Galla shows corresponding *-t* (*-it*) or *-d* (*-da*) according to dialect, thus *afa* “ make a bed ”, reflexive *afada*, and so we find denominatives such as *ḥīnōt* “ become small ” from *ḥīnō* “ small ”, etc. Hausa has reflexive *-ta* or *-da* and causative reflexive *-sda*, thus *tara* “ collect ”, *tarada* “ overtake ”, i.e. add oneself to a crowd, *kwana* " sleep ", *kwanta* " pass the night ", etc.

141 (6) General note on the verb themes

In Abyssinian and Assyrian there is considerable freedom in combining two or even more of these themes together. Thus in Assyrian we have, more or less regularly, Nt, i.e. N passive and reflexive, as *attapras* (for *antapras*), the primary combined with the N passive and reflexive, as *aptanaras*, the causative and intensitive as *ušparras*, this last with the reflexive as *uštaparras*, and even the reflexive of the N passive afterwards combined again with the N passive, as *attanapras* (for *antanapras*).

In Arabic dialect we sometimes find the causative reflexive combined with the intensitive as *istanna* from root *'ny*, which appears in the dialect of Tlemsen as *ssénna* ; so in Tlemsen the reflexive is combined with the *n-* passive in *ntkél* " be eatable ", *nteqrā* " be readable ", etc., but this occurs only with verbs having one radical semi-vowel or Hamza treated as a semi-vowel. In Tripoli and Tunis we get a form *istaḫāyl* which is a combination of the reflexive causative with the conative (*qātala*, conj. iii).

142 (7) Vocalization of the Stem and Tense Forms

Laying aside the participles and infinitive, which are essentially noun forms, there are two methods of vocalizing the stem, which may be represented by the Arabic forms *qatala* and *yaqtulu* of the primary (conj. i). Both these are 3rd person singular, and discarding the personal formatives we have *qatal-* and *-qtulu*, for it must be noted that final *-a* of the perfect is as much a personal termination as *-ta*, etc. From the second we also discard the final *-u*, which is a modal distinction denoting the indicative, and thus arrive at *qatal-* and *-qtul*. In West Semitic the former of these is known as the perfect, the latter as the imperfect and imperative. The West Semitic perfect has its personal terminations suffixed, the imperfect and imperative have certain suffixes denoting gender and number, and in the imperfect there are personal prefixes, but these are not found in the imperative, which consequently commences with a group of two consonants, and these are vocalized as already described (cf. § 66). In Assyrian the first *qatal* stem is commonly called the " present ", the second *-qtul* is the " preterite " and imperative, but the propriety of these names is open to serious question; both present and preterite have their persons formed in the same way as the imperfect of West Semitic, but a third (participial) tense exists, known as the permansive, which employs suffixed personal terminations like the West Semitic perfect.

The essential difference between these two stems may be regarded as a question of musical *tempo*, the deliberate statement of the West Semitic perfect and Assyrian " present " being spaced in *tempo lente,* the command and subordinate statement (imperfect) is in *tempo allegro* Phonetically, therefore, the slower time of the perfect necessitates the insertion of a vowel after the first radical unless, as is the case in some of the derived stems, it is already vocalized by a preformative. The insertion of this vowel in the perfect and its absence from the imperfect is not the result of a personal ending being suffixed to the former and a personal prefix being attached to the latter, for the same stem vocalizations occur in Assyrian, where the personal formative is prefixed in both cases, and the vocalization of the imperative is substantially that of the imperfect, although the imperative has no personal prefix.

In the two stem forms *qatal* and *-qtal* the vowel following the second radical is the stem vowel proper, not inserted from the necessities of phonetic conditions, but essentially a part of the stem. In the primary stem this vowel may be *a*, *i*, or *u*, in either stem, but in the derived stems it is normally *a* in the perfect and *i* in the imperfect. The formation of a passive by the modification of these vowels will be considered later. The Arabic grammarians treat these vowels in the perfect as semantic, the *qatal* stem denoting an act, *qatil* a transitory state as لَبِسَ "be clothed", *qatul* a permanent state as حَسُنَ "be beautiful". This is generally but not universally true, for there are cases, especially with medial or final laryngal, where the vocalization has evidently been influenced by the neighbouring consonants, and it remains an open question whether this semantic value of the vocalization was original, sometimes affected by consonant influence, or whether it was due to phonetic causes and then affected by analogy, i.e. the verbs following the class type of some leading roots of kindred meaning (cf. Lambert, *Journal Asiatique*, Feb., March, 1890, pp. 169 sqq.).

Generally perfect *qatal* corresponds with imperfect *-qtul* or *-qtil* and perfect *qatil* has imperfect *-qtal*. The original imperfect corresponding to perfect *qatul* is unknown; it now appears as *-qtul*. Exceptions to the above occur in verbs with second or third laryngal, which commonly have perfect *qatal*, imperfect *-qtal* (cf. sect. 54), unless those denoting superiority, which have imperfect *-qtul*, as فَخَرَ، يَفْخُرُ "surpass in glory". Rare instances occur in which perfect *qatil* has imperfect *-qtil*.

Thus in Arabic we have six possible types :—

(1) قَتَلَ يَقْتُلُ "kill".

(2) ضَرَبَ يَضْرِبُ "strike".

(3) فَتَحَ يَفْتَحُ " open ".

(4) عَلِمَ يَعْلَمُ " be wise ".

(5) حَسِبَ يَحْسِبُ " suppose ".

(6) كَرُمَ يَكْرُمُ " be precious ".

In Abyssinian *ĭ* is confused with *ŭ*, and so type (2) is assimilated to (1), and similarly (6) is assimilated to (5). In Hebrew and Aramaic the imperfects with vowel *i* (*e*) are in decay in the primary stem; in Hebrew they have practically disappeared in strong verbs, but appear in נָתַן, יִתֵּן, and in verbs with initial or final semi-vowel. In Aramaic they survive in ܢܥܒܶܕ " make " and ܢܙܒܶܢ " buy " only. In Assyrian all the forms of vocalization appear, as present (i.e. West Semitic perfect) *i-paras*, *i-pakid*, *i-balut*, preterite (imperfect) *i-prus*, *i-pkid*, *i-ṣbat*.

The following is a general outline of the vocalization of the tense forms in Semitic :—

(G Ground-form or Primary stem, D Duplicated or Intensitive, C Causative, N Passive in *n*-, *t* the combination of any of these with the reflexive *t*- ; I the perfect of West Semitic, II the imperfect, in each case with the corresponding stem in Assyrian.)

		Arabic	Abyssinian	Hebrew	Aramaic	Assyrian
G.	I.	*qatal-*	*qatal-*	*qātal*	q^{e}*tal*	*-paras*
		labis-	*labes-*	*lābēš*	l^{e}*beš*	*-pakid*
		hasun-		*qāṭōn*	q^{e}*fud*	*-balut*
	II.	*-qtul*	*-qtel*	*-qtōl*	*-qtūl*	*-prus*
		-lbis				*-pkid*
		-ftaḥ	*-lbas*	*-qtan*	*-dḥal*	*-ṣbat*

		Arabic	Abyssinian	Hebrew	Aramaic	Assyrian
D.	I.	*qattal-*	*qattal-*	*qittēl*	*qattēl*	*-parras*
	II.	*-qattil*		*-qattēl*	*-qattēl*	*-parris*
C.	I.	*'aqtal*	*'aqtal*	*hiqtīl*	*'aqtel*	*-šaqtal*
	II.	*-qtil*	*-qtel*	*-qtil*	*-qtel*	*-šaqtil*
N.	I.	*inqatal-*	*'anqōtal*	*niqtal*	. . .	*-qqatal*
	II.	*-nqatil*	*-nqōtel*	*-qqātēl*	. . .	*-qqatil*
Gt.	I.	*iqtatal*		. . .	*et̲h̲q^{e}tel*	*-qtatal*
	II.	*-qtatil*		. . .	*-t̲h̲q^{e}tel*	*-qtatal*
Dt.	I.	*taqattal*	*taqattal*	*hit̲h̲qattēl*	*et̲h̲qattal*	*-qtattal*
	II.	*-taqattal*	*-tqattal*	*-t̲h̲qattēl*	*-t̲h̲qattal*	*-qtattil*
Ct.	I.	*istaqtal-*	*'astaqtal-*	. . .	*et̲h̲taqtal*	*-štaqtal*
	II.	*-staqtil*	*-staqtel*	. . .	*-et̲h̲taqtal*	*-štaqtil*

The G (primary) stem shows a variety of vocalizations. A Hebrew imperfect *-qtil* stem exists where the root has initial or medial *y*. In Hebrew and Aramaic the perfect of the intensitive and causative have had their vocalization assimilated to that of the imperfect. Generally, however, as will be noted, the perfect of the derived stems has *-a-* and the imperfect *-i-*; exceptionally the Arabic and Abyssinian imperfect of the intensitive reflexive (Dt) has *-a-*, and so the imperfect of the primary reflexive (Gt) in Assyrian. Whilst the perfect is affected by the imperfect in the D, causative, and primary reflexive in Aramaic, the converse instance of the imperfect affected by the perfect appears in Aramaic in the reflexive of the intensitive and causative. Other cases must be admitted in which the vocalization is influenced by the neighbouring consonants (cf. sect. 53 above).

143 (8) Passive by Vowel Change

Besides the passive and reflexive forms in *n-* and *t-* there is a passive formed by modification of the vocalization. In Arabic this produces perfect *-u-i-*, imperfect *-u-a-*, thus active *qatal-* becomes passive *qutil-*, and imperfect active *yaqtul* becomes passive *yuqtil.* This vowel modification extends to personal preformative and also to the formative of the derived stem, as intensitive passive *quttil-*, *yuqattal-* ; causative *uqtil-*, *yuqtal*, etc. In dialect we find Syrian Arabic as passive *qutil*, imperfect *yuskan* ; Oman passive primary *hnoq*, intensitive *hurrug*, *suffid*, etc. In North Africa this passive is generally lost, but a few forms survive in Tlemsen, as *yūṣāb* " he will be found ", *yoḥtāi* " it is necessary ".

This passive by vowel change is obsolete in Abyssinian.

In Hebrew it survives in the primary theme only in the participle קָטוּל, but it is in full vigour in the intensitive and causative, as intensitive perfect קֻטַּל, imperfect יְקֻטַּל, causative perfect הָקְטַל, imperfect יָקְטַל, and mediæ gemin. intensitive perfect סוֹבַב, imperfect יְסוֹבַב.

In Aramaic it survives only in the participles, as כְּתִיב, תְּקֵל (Dan. v, 25) in the primary ; intensitive ܡܩܰܛܰܠ, causative ܡܰܩܛܰܠ, ܡܰܫܩܛܰܠ. So in T.B. participle מְשׁוּמַּת " banned " (Sabb. 67*a*), מְעוּפַּף " folded " (Ḥull. 51*b*), etc.

Assyrian shows some relics in the Amarna letters, as perfect *dīka*, plur. *dīkū*.

(iii) *Verb Inflexions*

144 (a) The Tenses

The Semitic tenses are two in number, which are called " past " (ماضى, עבר) and " future " (مضارع, עתיד) in the older grammars, but have been generally known as " perfect " and " imperfect " since the time of Ewald. But they are not tenses in the sense in which the word is used in

European grammar, as they are not concerned with time, past, present, or future, but only with what is described as *aktionsart,* time and place being expressed adverbially. This is true also of the " tenses " in the Indo-European languages, where the present describes an enduring act or state, the aorist denotes the action or state simply without reference to duration, and the perfect deals with an action as finished. The introduction of a time sense is a later development by means of added particles or by the use of auxiliaries. Such a time development appears in later Semitic, in Arabic dialect, in neo-Syriac, and in ancient Egyptian, which seems to have had a rapid and premature development.

The " perfect " of West Semitic, corresponding to the " present " in Assyrian, expresses a state or action which is definitely asserted and regarded as certain as contrasted with the imperfect expressing what may be, what is possible, or can be treated as an accessory, causal, conditional, etc. The perfect is declaratory, with emphasis on the assurance, regardless of whether the time is present, past, or future, although, of course, the past is usually regarded as known and settled more than could possibly be the case with the present or future, but in promises or bargains the perfect is used even though it must refer to future time because the emphasis is on the assurance and certainty of the promise made, and so in prayers, blessings, curses, and in prophecy. Thus in Arabic, " serve the Lord who created you " (خَلَقَكُمْ, Qur'ān, ii, 21), and " when your Lord said (قَالَ) to the angels, I am placing (participle) in the earth a ruler, they said (قَالُوا), wilt thou place (imperfect أَتَجْعَلُ) in it one who will make mischief (imperfect يفسِدَ) in it and shed (يسفِدَ) blood ? " (Qur'ān, ii, 30). The angels refer in the imperfect to events which they regard as probable, but of which they have no certain knowledge, but the events described as actually having taken place are in the perfect. Even in conditional clauses the perfect is used if the condition is assumed to have taken place, as " if you are in doubt as to that which we have revealed " (Qur'ān, ii, 23), it being treated as a known fact that those whom the prophet addresses were at the time in doubt. So in conditions in which no emphasis is laid on the conditional character, so that the condition is nearly equivalent to a participle or a clause introduced by " when ", as " if they dispute with you, say . . . ." (Qur'ān, iii, 19). Similarly when the conditional is introduced by a particle (cf. 164), which implies that the condition is impossible or is known or believed not to have taken place.

The perfect is used also with temporal particles denoting " when " or " whilst ", even though the acts are continuous and so incomplete ; and so in the statement of consequence, provided that emphasis is laid in the certainty of the result following, as " the Lord will send His angel *and prosper* thy way " (Gen. xxiv, 40), and " lest he put forth his hand *and take and eat* " (Gen. iii, 22).

As the perfect describes a certain and assured act or state, so the imperfect describes the incomplete, or dubious, or possible, as well as the subordinate statement which is not emphasized as the object of assertion. Thus we have in the imperfect to continuous or repeated act, as well as the nascent, progressive, or potential, and so what often corresponds with our present, as " the people come to me "(Exod. xviii, 15), and the frequentative or customary. The imperfect also is used in hypothetical sentences, in the " if " clause if it be regarded as dubious or uncertain, and in the consequence if emphasis is not laid on the certainty of its following the protasis. Besides this, we have also what may be described as the " polite " use of the imperfect, which appears in courteous inquiry, in request, command, etc., as less harsh than the imperative, and invariably in the negative command for which Semitic does not admit the imperative.

As denoting the incomplete the imperfect is used to express the customary, frequentative, etc., in which it is often very little to be distinguished in meaning from the perfect, but may be described as the tense of the nascent, progressive, inceptive, or potential; thus " it is a guide to those *who believe* in the unseen " (Qur'ān, ii, 3), " the humble ones *who know* that they shall meet their Lord " (Qur'ān, ii, 46); " thus *did* Job continually " (Job i, 5), " there *went* up a mist " (Gen. ii, 6), " what *seekest* thou ? " (Gen. xliv, 7), and hence obtains a quasi-present meaning, as " I redeem ", i.e. " I am in the habit of redeeming " (Exod. xiii, 15), etc.

The imperfect is the tense used to express the subordinate assertion, the accessory whether descriptive, or expressing the purpose, result, etc., which is not the main statement of the sentence, thus " he came to a spring of water *to drink* ", i.e. " that he might drink " (يَشْرَبُ), " he intends *to turn* you out of your land " (" that he turn you . . . " Qur'ān, vii, 110), " now surely they fold up their breasts *that they may make concealment* from him " (Qur'ān, xi, 5), " lest *you sit down* despised " (Qur'ān, xvii, 22); so Hebrew " the sickness *he was to die* of " (2 Kings xiii, 14). Other examples of the functions of the imperfect will be found under the heading of " moods ", for the subjunctive and jussive in Semitic are subdivisions of the imperfect (cf. 145 below).

145 (b) The Moods

In Semitic the moods are concerned only with the imperfect tense. In Arabic there are altogether five modal distinctions.

(i) The simplest of these is commonly known as the "Jussive", and shows only the imperfect stem with the personal preformatives (cf. § 147) and certain terminations added to denote gender and number, namely :—

Sing. fem. 2nd pers.	*-ī*
Plur. masc. 2nd and 3rd	*-ū*
fem. 2nd and 3rd	*-nă*
Dual	*-ā*

These terminations are the same as those employed in the imperative (cf. 148).

(ii) The subjunctive shows the same stem, preformatives, and terminations, but wherever there is no termination the vowel *-ă* is added ; thus sing. 3rd masc. jussive *yaqtul*, subj. *yaqtula*. This vowel, it will be noted, is the same as that used as the termination of the accusative of a noun, and the subjunctive shows a parallel use as the verb of many object sentences, so that certain particles which cause a noun to be in the accusative also cause the verb to assume the *-a* of the subjunctive.

(iii) The indicative adds short *-u* where the subjunctive has *-a*, but it also adds *-na* to each long vowel ending, save in the dual, where by dissimilation *-ā-na* becomes *-ā-ni*.

(iv) The first energetic mood shows the jussive with added *-anna* (cf. 93), which becomes *-nna* after the long vowel endings *-i*, *-u*, which are then shortened by closure, but dual *-a* remains long, and fem. *-na* becomes long *-na*, in each case the following *-nna* dissimilates to *-nni*.

(v) The second energetic shows *-an* where there is no vowel termination, and simple *-n* after a vowel ending which is then shortened. It does not occur with the dual or feminine plural. These results may be thus tabulated :—

	Indic.	Subj.	Jussive	Energ. I	Energ. II
Sing. 2nd fem.	*-īna*	*-ī*	*-ī*	*-ĭnna*	*-ĭn*
Pl. 3rd, 2nd masc.	*-ūna*	*-ū*	*-ū*	*-ŭnna*	*-ŭn*
3rd, 2nd fem.	*-na*	*-na*	*-na*	*-nānni*	—
Dual	*-āni*	*-ā*	*-ā*	*-ānni*	—
Elsewhere	*-ŭ*	*-ă*	—	*-ănni*	*-ăn*

The clearest distinction between the moods thus lies in those persons which have not a distinctive termination to indicate gender or number, those which we have classed together as " elsewhere ". But here the distinction is one due to short vowel endings, and in Arabic dialect, Hebrew, etc., final short vowels have become obsolete. Consequently, it is only in Arabic of what is called the classical type that we find the moods fully distinguished.

In classical Arabic (i) the indicative is essentially the mood of narrative and it is thus employed, subject to the general character of the imperfect, which we have noted above.

(ii) The subjunctive is used to express the purpose, and so after *li*, *kā*, *likā*, *li'an*, *hattā*, or negative *kaylā*, *likaylā*, *li'allā*, expressing the purpose and intention of the agent; or the result introduced by *'id͟han*, or by *fa-*, *wa-*, after an imperative, expression of wish, hope, etc., or after a negative or interrogative; or the object sentence introduced by *'an*, negative *'an lā*, *'allā*, *lan*, after an expression of hope, fear, duty, effort, etc.; or the exception after *'illa 'an* " unless ".

(iii) The jussive, closely akin to the imperative, is used to express command, with or without prefixed *li-*; it may also express the milder form of a wish, entreaty, or resolve. In prohibition it must be substituted for the imperative. It is used after the negative *lam* " not " and after *lammā* in the sense of " not yet ". It appears also in conditional clauses.

(iv) The energetic forms may be employed for command, wish, etc., like the jussive, especially when the clause is reinforced by the emphatic particle *la-* "verily". They are used also in the conditional when the conditional particle is reinforced by *-mā.*

Abyssinian does not retain the short vowel terminations of the imperfect, and the subjunctive and jussive are confused in one form, *yeqtel,* etc. Although the indicative does not retain its distinctive vowel termination, it is distinguished by its accent and time. Whilst the jussive-subjunctive has the *tempo allegro* of the imperative, the indicative in *tempo lente* inserts an additional vowel after the first radical, producing *yeqatel,* and the accented penultimate causes the accent to fall on this inserted vowel where there is no added termination.

In Hebrew no distinction appears between the indicative and subjunctive, owing to the loss of the final short vowels, but sometimes a distinctive difference appears in the jussive, which never had a vowel termination, so that the syllable commencing with the medial radical was always closed and did not become closed. Thus in the causative where the indicative-subjunctive has *-i-*, the jussive has the shorter vowel *-e-*, as indicative *yaqtīl,* jussive *yaqtēl* ; or, before final laryngal, indicative *yašlīaḥ* (cf. 53), jussive *yašlăḥ.* So with verbs having medial *w/y*, as √*byn,* indicative *yābīn,* jussive *yābēn* ; √*qwm,* indicative *yāqūm,* jussive *yāqōm.*

A cohortative form appears also in the 1st person singular and plural of the imperfect and in the imperative, which is characterized by suffixed *-ā*, corresponding to the Arabic energetic *-an, -anna,* which become *-ā* in pause. This has an emphatic force in the 2nd and 3rd persons of the imperative, and a modifying precatory sense in the 1st. Another obvious relic of the energetic appears in the demonstrative *-ann-*, *-inn-*, which is often added to the imperfect before a suffixed pronoun (cf. 93).

The modal endings are not entirely extinct in Assyrian, but, like the case endings of nouns, they have suffered confusion. It would appear that *-a* was properly employed in continued narrative, whilst final *-u* is used in subordinate clauses, and in this employ appears in later forms as well. It is difficult to suppose that we have here the original uses.

146 (c) Persons of the West Semitic Perfect

The personal terminations of the perfect in Arabic, Abyssinian, Hebrew, and Aramaic, with which may be compared the terminations of the permansive in Assyrian, may be summarized as follows :—

		Arabic	Abyssin.	Hebrew	Aramaic	Assyrian (perm.)
Sing.	3 masc.	*-a*	*-a*	- (*-a*)	- (*-a*)	-
	fem.	*-at*	*-at*	*-ā* (*-at̲h̲*)	*-at̲h̲*	*-at*
	2 masc.	*-ta*	*-ka*	*-tā*	*-t*(*ā*)	*-āt*(*a*)
	fem.	*-ti*	*-kī*	*-t*(*i*)	*-t*(*i*)	*-āti*
	1	*-tu*	*-kū*	*-tī*	*-eth*	*-āk*(*u*)
Plur.	3 masc.	*-ū*	*-ū*	*-ū*	(*-ū*)	*-ū*(*ni*)
	fem.	*-na*	*-ā*	—	(*-ā*)	*-ā*
	2 masc.	*-tum*(*ū*)	*-kemmū*	*-tem*	*-tūn*	*-ātumu*
	fem.	*-tunna*	*-ken*	*-ten*	*-tīn*	—
	1	*-nā*	*-na*	*-nū*	*-n*(*ā*)	*-āni*, *-ānu*
Dual	3 masc.	*-ā*				
	fem.	*-atā*				
	2	*-tumā*				

(*a*) *Sing. 3rd masc.* Termination *-ă*, which as final short falls away in Hebrew and Aramaic (cf. sect. 74), but is retained before suffixed *-nī* as in Hebrew *qᵉṭālā̆nī*, Syriac *qaṭlan*(*i*), and as *ā* before suffixes of the 2nd fem. sing., 3rd masc. sing., and 1st plur. as *qᵉṭālāk̲h̲*, *qᵉṭālāhū*, *qᵉṭālānū*. In modern Arabic this termination is entirely lost.

(*b*) *Sing. 3rd fem.* Termination *-at* as for nouns, suggesting that the perfect was originally a participle (cf. Assyrian perm.). In Hebrew and Aramaic the *t* is aspirated by the preceding vowel (cf. 37); and in Hebrew it usually falls when not protected by a suffix, as *qaṭᵉlā*, *qᵉṭālát̲h̲nī*; but rare cases of *-t* retained occur in *'āzlat̲h̲* (Deut. xxxii, 36) and *qārā'āt̲h̲* (Deut. xxxi, 29). In Aramaic, as in Hebrew, the addition of the suffix causes the reduction of the preceding vowel, and thus Syriac *qᵉṭal* becomes *qaṭlat̲h̲*, where Hebrew shortens to a half-vowel *qaṭᵉlā*. A similar change takes place in the Arabic dialects where the accent in the masc. falls on the vowel following the second radical, as in Tripoli masc. *ktéb*, fem. *kítbet*, and so very generally in North Africa and with intransitive verbs in Oman, as well as sometimes in Central Arabia (*ḍá'fet*, but also *aḫád̲h̲at*), but in 'Iraq we find both *ktíbet* and *kíteb(e)t*. In Central Arabia the elision of the preceding vowel is found chiefly when that vowel is *-i-*, and so in Syrian *šírib*, *šírbet*, but *kátab*, *kátabet*, and sometimes in Egypt *mísiket*, *mísket*.

(*c*) *Sing. 2nd masc. -ta*, in Abyssinian changed to *-ka*, and so *k* for *t* throughout the 2nd person, by the analogy of the 1st person sing., the original consonants being preserved in Assyrian (cf. also note on 1st singular below). In Hebrew this becomes *-tā*, and in Aramaic the final vowel is lost except before suffixes. The cause of the inserted *-ā-* in the Assyrian permansive is unknown. In Arabic dialect this *-ta* invariably becomes *-t*, in Central Arabia *-it*, and in 'Iraq sometimes *-et*.

(*d*) *Sing. 2nd fem. -ti*. The feminine is formed by change of vowel ending to *-i* (cf. 118). In Abyssinian *t* becomes *k* (cf. above). In Hebrew and Aramaic the final vowel is lost except before suffixes.

(*e*) *Sing. 1st pers.* Originally *-ku* as in Assyrian permansive *-āku*, so Abyssinian, Ge'ez, and Tigriña *-ku*, Tigré *-kū*, *-kō*, Amharic *-hū* (cf. 37) and Mehri *-ik*, *-ek*, Soqotra *-k*; in all these southern languages the *k* has also affected the 2nd person, but Assyrian retains 2nd *t*, 1st *k*, which seem to have been the original forms. In Arabic dialect *-tu* becomes *-t* (Central Arabia, Oman, Haḍramaut, ‘Iraq, Syria, Egypt, and generally in North Africa, save where *t* becomes *ts*, cf. 17*b*), also *-it* (Central Arabia, Algeria, Nejd, Syria, ‘Iraq) and *-et* (id.). In Hebrew *-tī* or *-t* the final *-ī* probably is due to the analogy of the 1st singular pronominal suffix; and so Moabite תי, Phoenician תי, ת, and *-thi* in *coranthi* (Plaut. *Pœnul.*). Aramaic *-et̲h̲* with alteration of syllabic constitution to *qeṭlet̲h̲* (cf. 3rd sing. fem.), rare *-tī* (Bib. Aram.), also *-it* (Targ., T.B., Mandæan), *-ey* (T.B.), and *-ī* (Mandæan).

(*f*) *Plur. 3rd masc. -ū*, in Syriac only before suffixes. Arabic dialect changes *-ū* to *-ō* in Central Arabia and Oman, or to *-aw* in Central Arabia, Haḍramaut, and ‘Iraq. Egypt shows *-ū*, but also *-um* by assimilation to the pronoun. Hebrew *-ū*, *-ūn* (Isa. xxvi, 11), *-ūm* (Isa. liii, 1; Deut. viii, 3).

(*g*) *Plur. 3rd fem. -ā* or *-na* (cf. imperfect). In Arabic dialect *-an* in Central Arabia, *-en* in Oman, Haḍramaut, ‘Iraq. In Syria, Egypt, and North Africa this termination is obsolete, as is also the case in Hebrew. Bib. Aram. *-â*, Syriac *-â* before suffixes, also *-en* by analogy of the suffixed pronoun.

(*h*) *Plural 2nd masc. -tum.* Abyssinian, as usual, *u* becomes *e*; Hebrew vowel assimilated to the fem.; Aramaic either *u*>*o*, or as in Hebrew *-tem*; Syriac *-ton*, or *-tonâ* before suffix. Assyrian shows *-(ā)tunu*. Added *-u* in Abyssinian (with preceding consonant doubled), and in Assyrian, sometimes in Arabic. Abyssinian shows *k* as in the singular. In Arabic dialect *-tu* (‘Iraq, Central Arabia, Syria, Tripoli, Tunis, Oran, South Algeria, Morocco, Malta, and Tlemsen *-tsu*), *-to* (Oman, Haḍramaut), *-tum* in Spanish Arabic.

(*j*) *Plur. 2nd fem. -tin*, i.e. fem. sing. with plur. *-n*. Thus Arabic dialect *-ten* (Oman, Haḍramaut, ‘Iraq), but in all other dialects this person is obsolete. So *-ten* in Hebrew, Aramaic, and *-ken* in Abyssinian (before suffix *-kennā*, *-kā*, cf. 85*b*). In classical Arabic this person shows vowel *-u-* by analogy with the masculine (cf. personal pronoun); the added *-na* is perhaps taken from the imperfect imperative, and accounts for the retention of *-n* after *u*. Aramaic *-ten*, and *-tena* before suffix.

(*k*) 1*st plur.* *-na* in Arabic (in dialect *-na* in Central Arabia, ‘Iraq, Morocco, *-ne* in Oman, Haḍramaut, *-nā̆* in South Algeria, and *-nă* in Tripoli, Tunis); so Abyssinian. Aramaic *-nā* before suffixes, otherwise *-n*, or *-nan* by analogy of the absolute pronoun. In Hebrew *-nū* (cf. personal pronoun) under the influence of the 3rd masculine plural.

(*l*) *Dual.* The dual appears only in ancient Arabic, where the characteristic *-ā* is added to the singular in the 3rd person, and to the masculine plural in the 2nd.

147 (d) Persons of the Imperfect Tense

The persons of the imperfect are denoted by personal prefixes and suffixes denoting gender and number. The prefixes are:—

		Arabic	Abyssin.	Hebrew	Aramaic	Assyrian
Sing.	3 masc.	*ya-*	*ye-*	*yi-*	*ne-*	*i-*
	3 fem. 2 m.f.	*ta-*	*te-*	*ti-*	*te-*	*ta-*
	1	*'a-*	*'e-*	*'e-*	*'e-*	*a-*
Plur.	3 masc.	*ya-*	*ye-*	*yi-*	*ne-*	*i-*
	3 fem.			*ti-*		
	2	*ta-*	*te-*	*ti-*	*te-*	*ta-*
	1	*na-*	*ne-*	*ni-*	*ne-*	*na-*
Dual	3	*ya-*				
	2	*ta-*				

(*a*) *ya-*: 3rd masc. of all numbers, and 3rd fem. in plural and dual. In Syriac *ne-* (but Bib. Aram., etc., *yi-*). With this we compare *l-* in the jussive in Tigré *liškun*, etc., where *l-* is the particle (preposition) "to" (cf. 158); so Hebrew *likrōth̲* (Isa. xliv, 14, but cf. Driver, *Tenses*, 203), Aramaic *lehᵉwē* (Dan. ii, 20), and frequently in T.B., later Hebrew, and

Mandæan. In older Aramaic this *l*- appears with the infinitive, in later Aramaic as in Tigré with the jussive; in Bib. Aram. only with הוה (Ezra iv, 13; Dan. ii, 20, 43); hence probably the *n*- in Syriac as *n* often appears for *l*- in T.B., Mandæan, etc. (cf. 28), Assyrian *ya*- >*i*- (cf. 52 (1)).

(*b*) *ta*-: 2nd pers. and 3rd fem. sing. in Hebrew also for the 3rd fem. plur., by analogy; but *y*- in Gen. xxx, 38; Dan. viii, 22.

(*c*) *'a*-: Assyrian *a*-, 1st sing. only; cf. *'a* in *'an-'a* (§ 77).

(*d*) *na*-: Ge'ez, Tigré, *ne*- or *'en*-; Amharic *'enne*-.

(*e*) *Vocalization of the prefixes*

-*a*- in ancient Arabic, in Assyrian in *ta*- and *a*- (1st sing.). Also in Arabic and Hebrew before first radical laryngal (cf. § 53).

-*e*- in Abyssinian (but causative *ye'a* >*yā*), Syriac (West), Arabic dialect of Morocco, Algeria, and Tripoli. Hebrew in 1st sing.

-*i*- Hebrew save in 1st sing. or before first radical laryngal (but *ya'* >*ye'*). Syriac (East). Assyrian *ya*- >*i*- and *na*- >*ni*- (analogy of 3rd sing.). Also in Arabic dialect of 'Iraq, Syria, Tunis.

-*u*- in all languages in the passive (cf. § 143), intensitive, and causative, in Hebrew and Aramaic with change to -*ŏ*- as described in § 48. But Abyssinian causative *yĕ'a*- (for *yŭ'a*-) >*yā*-.

In Egypt and Oman we find regular assimilation, as *yimsik*, *yuskun*, etc.

(ii) *Terminations of the Imperfect*

	Arabic	Abyssin.	Hebrew	Aramaic	Assyrian
Sing. 2 fem. .	-*ī*(*na*)	-*ī*	-*ī*	-*ī*(*n*)	-*ī*
Plur. 3, 2 masc.	-*ū*(*na*)	-*ū*	-*ū*	-*ū*(*n*)	-*ū*
3, 2 fem.	-*na*	-*ā*	-*nā*	-*ān*	-*ā*
Dual . .	-*ā*(*ni*)				

For the short vowel endings employed to denote moods, cf. § 145 above.

(*a*) -*i*, Syriac -*in*, and Hebrew -*in* in תִּדְבָּקִין (Ruth ii, 8), etc., appears elsewhere as a feminine afformative (cf. 79, 85, 118).

(*b*) -*ū* masc. plur., cf. § 147.

(*c*) -*ā* fem. plur. in Abyssinian, Aramaic, and Assyrian: -*na* in Arabic and Hebrew.

148 (e) The Imperative

The types of the imperative are as follow :—

		Arabic	Abyssin.	Hebrew	Aramaic	Assyrian
Sing.	masc.	*uqtul*	*qetel*	*q*^{e}*ṭól*	*q*^{e}*ṭól*	*purus*
	fem.	*uqtulī*	*qetelī*	*qiṭ*^{e}*lī*	*q*^{e}*ṭól(ī)*	*purusī*
Plur.	masc.	*uqtulū*	*qetelū*	*qiṭ*^{e}*lū*	*q*^{e}*ṭól(ū)*	*purusū*
	fem.	*uqtulna*	*qetelā*	*q*^{e}*ṭólnā*	*q*^{e}*ṭól(ā)*	*purusā*

The terminations denoting gender and number are the same as those already noted in the imperfect (above). As regards the stem, the base form is *qtul*, *qtal*, *qtil*, in which the first consonant is vocalized by the insertion of a half-vowel in Hebrew and Aramaic, by the insertion of the short and vague *e* in Abyssinian, and in Assyrian by a vowel which assimilates to the following stem vowel, whilst in Arabic a prosthetic vowel is used, normally *i*- but *u*- by assimilation before stem vowel -*u*- (cf. § 66). The vocalization in Hebrew necessarily modifies when the syllabic constitution is altered by the addition of a vowel termination which opens the medial syllable, thus :—

Sing. fem. *qiṭ*^{e}*lī́*, in pause *q*^{e}*ṭólī*.
Plur. masc. *qiṭ*^{e}*lū́* „ *q*^{e}*ṭólū*.

149 (f) Secondary Tenses

(i) *The Assyrian Permansive*

This is a new tense obtained in Assyrian by adding personal afformatives to a participial form of the primary theme, and in derived themes by analogous treatment of infinitive stems. Its meaning has the inherent idea of duration in the state or action of the verb sense. It does not correspond to the West Semitic perfect, which in its stem form *qatal*, etc., is represented by the Assyrian present, so called, though it has personal afformatives instead of preformatives, and these suffixed persons bear a resemblance to those used in the West Semitic perfect. These endings are:—

	Singular		Plural	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
pers. 3 . .	*paris*	*pars-at*	*pars-u*	*pars-a*
2 . .	*pars-āt*(*a*)	*pars-āti*	*pars-ātunu*	—
1 . .	*pars-āk*(*u*)		*pars-ān*(*u*)	

The long *-ā-* which appears before the termination in the 2nd and 1st persons has not yet been accounted for satisfactorily.

(ii) *Syriac Participial Tenses*

In Syriac a present tense is formed by adding enclitic pronouns to the participle, and this formation becomes more and more popular in later speech until in neo-Syriac it practically replaces the older tenses. Other tenses are formed on the same lines in the way described below. The pronominal forms thus used are:—

	Singular		Plural	
	masc.	fem.	masc.	fem.
pers. 3 . .	-, *-u*	*-i*, *-at*	*-in*, *-an*	
2 . .	*-at*	*-at*(*i*)	*-atun*, *-tun*	*-atin*, *-tin*
1 . .	*-na*		*-nan*	

But dialectal differences occur in these forms in neo-Syriac (cf. Maclean, *Vernac. Syr.*, p. 84).

(iii) *Introduction of time relations into the tenses*

Although the original Semitic tenses conveyed *Aktionsart* and not temporal relations, we find in later forms the introduction of the time sense by the addition of particles, etc. In Arabic the particle سَوْفَ, or its contracted form in the prefix سَ prefixed to the imperfect, is used to express the. future, and this already appears in the Qur'ān, e.g. سَنُرِيهِم "we shall show them", etc. Later we find the particle قَدْ, properly an emphatic used to lay stress on the certainty of an act or state, prefixed to the perfect so as to convey the sense of past time, and thus to form a pluperfect, or attached to the imperfect so as to form an imperfect "was", etc. Similarly, the verb كَانَ "be" is used with the perfect to make a pluperfect, and with the imperfect to give the past indefinite "was" sense.

In the dialects of Syria and Egypt prefixed *ba-* or *ma-* attached to the imperfect produces the sense of past time, as *bayuskun* "he dwelt". Without سَوْفَ, سَ, *ba-* or *ma-*, the imperfect is generally employed for present or future time. In North Africa the present is expressed by *ka-* or *ra-* prefixed to the imperfect, as *kayatub* "he is writing", and in the eastern dialects the same sense is often conveyed by prefixed *'amm-*. In Omani the imperfect acquires a future sense by the use of *ḥa-*, *ḥe-*, as *ḥayaktub* "he will write", and the same particle is used in Maltese to express an optative. Omani uses the particle *'ād* instead of the verb كَانَ to form the pluperfect from the perfect; this particle appears as sing. masc. *'ād*, fem. *'ādit*, plur. masc. *'ādo*, fem. *'āden* with the 3rd person, and in the 2nd person sing. *'ödt*, plur. *'ödto*.

In neo-Syriac the older tenses are almost extinct and are replaced by the participles, the present being expressed either by the participle followed by the personal pronoun as described above, or by the substantive verb followed by the verbal noun with prefixed *be-*. The future shows the participle itself with the prefix *be-*, *bed-*, or *bᵉ-*. The perfect has either the participle with the auxiliary verb ܩܕܡ "finished", or the participle with *lᵉ-* and the pronominal suffix, a form rare save in the dialect of Alqosh (cf. Maclean, *Vernac. Syr.*, p. 82). The past imperfect is expressed by the participle with *bᵉ-* and the substantive verb ܗܘܐ.

150 (g) The Participles

The participles are deverbal noun forms. In the primary theme the active participle has the form of *qātil*, thus Arabic قَاتِل, Abyssinian *qātel*, Hebrew קוֹטֵל, Syriac ܩܳܛܶܠ, Assyrian *pāris*. The primary passive participle appears in Hebrew as *qātūl* (קָטוּל), Abyssinian *qĕtūl*. Arabic adds the *m-* preformative and thus produces مَقْتُول. This form is obsolete in Aramaic, where we find **qătīl* (ܩܛܝܠ), which is a common adjectival type, the adjective having displaced the passive participle.

In the derived stems the participles are formed by the addition of the preformative *m-* to the verb stem (cf. sect. 110 above); in Abyssinian this is vocalized *ma-*, but in the other Semitic languages the vocalization is affected by the phonetic principles already described. The exception to this is the participle of the passive in N. (Nifʻal) of the Hebrew verb, which is derived directly from the perfect without the preformative *m-*, thus נִקְטָל.

151 (h) The Infinitive

The infinitive or verbal noun has very many various types; indeed, it can take the form of almost any abstract noun, and this is especially true in Arabic. The following infinitive forms are the commonest :—

(1) Primary stem. Assyrian *parās*, corresponding to Hebrew *qātōl*, construct *q*^{e}*tōl*. Such a form appears amongst others in Arabic, but the commonest is *qatl*. In Abyssinian it is most often *qatil*, or *qatilot*. Aramaic prefixes *m-* (cf. 110) and frequently shows suffixed *-u*, thus *meqtal*, *meqtalû*.

(2) Intensitive. Assyrian *purrus*, so Hebrew *qattol*, construct *qattel*. Aramaic *m*^{e}*qattalu*. Arabic has here very various forms, but *taqtil* is one of the commonest. Abyssinian *qattelo*(*t*).

(3) Causative. Arabic *'iqtal*; Abyssinian *'aqtelo*(*t*); Hebrew *haqtil*, construct *haqtel*; Aramaic *maqtalu*; Assyrian *šuprus*.

(4) N. passive. Arabic *inqital*; Hebrew *niqtol*, or *hiqqatol*, construct *hiqqatel*; Assyrian *naprus*.

(iv) *Verbs showing Phonetic Changes*

152 (i) Verbs with semi-vowel radical

Verbs having a semi-vowel as one of their radicals show the phonetic changes described in §§ 51, 52 above, but there are certain extensions and restrictions which must be noted in addition.

(A) *Verbs with first radical semi-vowel*

When the first radical is without preformative no change takes place save that in Hebrew and Aramaic initial *y* becomes *w*, as stated in sect. 20; as closure after a short vowel in the imperfect, etc., the changes are normally those described in sect. 51.

(1) *Arabic.*—(*a*) Imperfect and imperative. Verbs with initial *w* elide this first radical in the imperfect-imperative before stem vowel *i*; thus imperfect *yawlidu* becomes يَلِدُ, imperative لِدْ. This applies only to the active forms of the Primary stem.

In the passive the stem vowel is *a* (cf. sect. 140). As a rule, these verbs have stem vowel *a* in the active perfect, *i* in the imperfect. There are, however, eight verbs having *i* in the perfect and also *i* in the imperfect (class (5) of sect. 142 above); these are وَثِقَ "trust in", ورث "inherit", ورع "refrain from", ورم "swell", ورى "be firm set", وفق "be in good condition", ولى "be near", and ومق "love". All these having *i* in the imperfect elide the first radical *w* in the imperfect-imperative.

A few verbs having *a* in the imperfect-imperative follow the same rule. In these it is presumed that they originally had imperfect in *i*, but this has been changed to *a* by the influence of a final or medial laryngal.

Thus وَدَعَ "let alone", imperfect يَدَعُ; so وَهَبَ "give", وَقَعَ "fall", وَسِعَ "be wide", etc.

(*b*) Infinitive. Where the first radical *w* falls away as described above, and the imperative is formed from the shortened stem, the infinitive is formed from the same stem with the addition of the abstract termination *-at* (cf. sect. 117), thus perfect وَلَدَ, imperfect يَلِدُ, imperative لِدْ, infinitive لِدَةٌ.

(*c*) Reflexive of the primary. Assimilation of semi-vowel *w* or *y* to the reflexive *t* takes place as described in sect. 30.

(*d*) Dialectal peculiarities. In the ancient dialect of Asad *-aw* becomes *-ī* instead of remaining *-aw* as usual in classical speech, thus يِيجَلُ instead of يَوْجَلُ; this is a case of abnormal change of *w* to *y*, the intermediate يَيْجَلُ is also found. In the ancient dialect of the Hijaz this *-aw* became *-a*, and so we have يَاجَلُ for the same word. In the modern dialect of Tunis, Tripoli, and the town of Damascus *wi* becomes *wu* and so *ū*, thus original وَلَدَ becomes *wilid* in these dialects, and thence *ūlid*.

(2) *Abyssinian.*—(*a*) Imperfect and imperative. The elision of first radical *w* described in Arabic (1*a* above) takes place also in the Ethiopic verbs *walada* "bear child", *warada* "descend", *wadaya* "lie down", *wadaqa* "fall", and sometimes in *waqara* "cut down" and *wagara* "cast out", the shortened imperfect-imperative showing vowel *ă* for *ĭ* as though in double closure; thus perfect *walada*, imperfect *yalad*, imperative *lad*.

(*b*) The infinitive in these stems either adds afformative *-at* or doubles the final radical, thus *ledat* or *ladd*.

(3) *Hebrew.*—(*a*) In the imperfect-imperative stem contraction takes place in the verbs ילד "bear child", ידע "know", יצא "go out", ישׁב "sit", יצק "pour", and ירד "descend" (but מִיָּרְדִי in Qᵉri of Ps. xxx, 4), and sometimes in ירשׁ "possess" and יקר "kindle", thus imperfect יֵלֵד, imperative לֵד.

Similarly with the verb הלך "go", as though ילך, imperfect יֵלֵךְ, imperative לֵךְ, the strong forms being found only in later Hebrew and in poetry as תִּהֲלַךְ (Ps. lxxiii, 9).

(*b*) The shortened form appears also in the construct infinitive of these verbs as in לֶדֶת, the absolute retaining the regular form יָשׁוֹב, etc. Regular also is ירע under the influence of the final laryngal. In 1 Sam. iv, 19, we find the assimilation *-dt*>*-tt* (cf. sect. 23).

(*c*) Initial *w* becomes *y* unless doubled as in יִוָּשֵׁב (Nif. imperfect); *aw* becomes *ō* (cf. sect. 50) as in הוֹשִׁיב, נוֹשַׁב, etc., and *ay* becomes *ē* as in הֵיטִיב (cf. sect. 49).

(4) *Aramaic.*—Contraction is less common than in Hebrew, and occurs only in ܝܺܕܰܥ "know", ܝܺܬܶܒ "sit", and ܝܗܒ "give", this last showing elision of the *h* in the perfect sing. 3rd masc. ܝܰܗ̱ܒ, 2nd ܝܰܗ̱ܒܬ, plur. 3rd masc. ܝܰܗ̱ܒ, fem. ܝܰܗ̱ܒܝ, 1st ܝܰܗ̱ܒܢ, the imperfect being obsolete and replaced by ܢܶܬܶܠ. In the infinitive, where there is preformative *m-*, there is no need of the compensatory addition of *-at*, thus from ܝܬܒ we have ܡܶܬܰܒ.

In the causative initial radical *y* assimilates to *w*, whilst conversely in the intensitive initial *w* becomes *y*, thus causative ܐܰܘܬܶܒ, ܡܰܘܬܶܒ, intensitive ܝܰܬܶܒ, etc.

(5) *Assyrian.*—Contraction appears very generally in the imperative, as *šib* " sit " from *wšb*, etc.

Regularly *aw*, *iw* become *ū* (cf. 51, 52), but *šaw*>*še* (cf. 58), thus *ušēšab* for *ušawšab*; *iy*, *ay* become *ī* or *ē*, as *īšir* for *ayšir* and *ēniq* for *ayniq*. When *awa*, *aya* become *ā* and *uwa* becomes *ū* (cf. sect. 52), compensation is made by doubling the medial radical, thus *awašab* appears as *aššab*. In the reflexive of the primary (Gt) *w* assimilates to *t*, thus *awtašab* becomes *attašab*, etc. (cf. sect. 30), and in the N. stem it becomes Hamza, to which *n* assimilates, thus *anwašab* > *an'ašab* > *a''ašab* > *a'ašab*.

153 (B) Verbs with medial semi-vowel

(1) *Arabic.*—In Arabic some medial *w/y* verbs follow the regular type of strong forms; such are (i) verbs which have final semi-vowel as well as medial, thus شَوِيَ "roast"; (ii) later derivatives such as denominal verbs, verbs specialized to express wonder, and elatives such as أَقْوَلُ "he speaks better than . . ."; and (iii) stems where the semi-vowel is doubled as in conj. ii, v, قَوَّلَ, etc., and so conj. iii, vi, where *āwa* occurs as a dissimilation from *awwa*, etc. (cf. sect. 137).

Generally we have the phonetic changes described in §§ 51, 52. In the imperative the prosthetic vowel is not required, as the first consonant is vocalized by a following vowel. In the imperative and jussive the vowel resultant from contraction is properly shortened, thus يَقُلْ, قُلْ, but this shortening is commonly neglected in dialect, as Egyptian *qūl* "say".

In the causative infinitive *wā*, *yā* become *ā* after closure, but in compensation the stem receives the addition of the abstract afformative *-at*, thus إِقَالَةٌ.

In the active participle of the primary stem, *āwi*, *āyi* become *ā'i*, but this assimilation is often ignored in modern dialect, where we hear *qāyil* for قَائِل (Egypt, etc.), the semi-vowel assimilating to the following vowel.

In the infinitive of conj. viii, *iyā* is maintained, but *iwā* is assimilated to it, so that اِقْتِوَال becomes اِقْتِيَال.

(2) *Abyssinian.*—No shortening or change takes place when medial *w*/*y* is doubled (cf. Arabic). In the imperfect the medial semi-vowel is retained with inserted *a* in the indicative, and *wi*, *yi* are retained in the infinitive, otherwise the phonetic changes already described in §§ 51, 52 are carried out. Shortening in double closure is confined to Tigré dialect, where *ō*, *ū*, *ī*, in this position become *ĕ*, thus *šōma* for *šawama*, becoming *šĕmka* in the 2nd person.

In the causative there are two alternative forms, either (i) the phonetic rules already described are observed, or (ii) the vowel is shortened, so that *ō* becomes *ă* and *ū* becomes *ĕ*, and thus we may have *’aqōma* or *’aqăma*, etc.

(3) *Hebrew.*—Some verbs preserve the consonantal value of a medial semi-vowel, as חָוַר, גָּוַע, etc., but most verbs of this type show the operation of the phonetic principles described in §§ 51, 52. In the jussive the *ū* or *ī* resultant from these changes is shortened to *ō* or *ē*, and these in turn shorten to *ŏ*, *ĕ*, with prefixed Waw, thus יָקוּם, jussive יָקֹם, with Waw וַיָּקָם, and so יָבִין, יָבֵן, וַיָּבֶן, etc.

In double closure *ā*, *ē* become *ă*, as קָם, קַמְתָּ; and *ō* becomes *ŏ*, as בּוֹשׁ, בָּשְׁתָּ. In the intensive we find the form קוֹמֵם, passive קוֹמַם, on the analogy of the mediæ geminatæ verbs. In the derived stems verbs with medial semi-vowel are influenced by the analogy of verbs with weak final, thus in the passive in N. we have נְקוּמוֹתָ, in which the *-ō-* before the termination shows this influence; so causative הֲקִימוֹתָ, etc. Sometimes the same influence appears in the primary stems of verbs with medial *y*, thus from בִּין we have 2nd sing. masc. perfect either בַּנְתָּ or בִּינוֹתָ. In place of this *-ō-*

we find -*ē*- (from final -*y*) in the 2nd, 3rd fem. plur. imperfect, as תְּקוּמֶנָה, etc. In all cases -*ē*- (also from final -*y* verbs) is inserted before a consonantal pronominal suffix, as יְקִימֵנִי (causative).

In the present participle of the primary stem we find *ō* in accordance with the regular phonetic change described in sect. 43*c*, but *a* with the semi-vowel changed to Hamza also appears, thus לוֹט (Isa. xxv, 7) and also לָאט for *la'ṭ* (Judges iv, 21).

(4) *Aramaic.*—No contraction takes place in medial *w*/*y* verbs which are also with final semi-vowel. In the intensitive stem all medial weak verbs are assimilated to medial *y*, and in the causative they are assimilated to medial *w*; this is the normal course, but sometimes *w* is retained in the intensitive, and sometimes we find the form ܩܘܿܡܶܡ as in Hebrew.

In the reflexives of the primary and causative in Syriac the reflexive *t* is doubled, except after the personal prefixed *t*-, thus ܐܶܬܬܩܺܝܡ, etc., by analogy with the roots having initial semi-vowel. In the active participle of the primary stem the semi-vowel becomes Hamza in the singular in Bib. Aram., thus קָאֵם (Dan. ii, 31), but קָיְמִין in the plural (Dan. iii, 3, although Keth קָאמִין); in Syriac this Hamza is written, but is sounded as *y*, thus ܩܳܐܶܡ = *qâyem*. The verb ܐܬܳܐ sometimes follows the medial *w* type, and sometimes the preformative receives compensatory lengthening, and thus we find both ܡܰܝܬܳܐ and ܡܳܐܬܳܐ.

(5) *Assyrian.*—Medial *w*/*y* verbs never retain the consonantal value of the semi-vowel, but follow the phonetic rules of §§ 51, 52. In the intensitive (D) the medial, though

doubled, quiesces, and then either (i) the two vowels are left and form a long vowel or diphthong, or (ii) the first vowel falls away and the second vowel with the preceding semi-vowel follow the phonetic rules of quiescence; thus from *uqayyis* we get either *uqais* or *uqīs*. But when a vowel is added as suffix, the third radical is doubled and the vowel shortened, thus *utawwiru* becomes *utīru* and thence *utĭrru*. Medial *w/y* verbs in Assyrian appear with any one of the three vowels *a*, *i*, *u*, as *ašām*, *adīn*, *atūr*.

154 (C) Verbs with final semi-vowels

(1) *Arabic.*—Verbs with final *w* conform to final *y* type in all the derived conjugations; and in dialect final *w* very often conforms to final *y* in the primary conjugation as well. The semi-vowels retain their consonantal value in final *awa*, *aya*, *iwa*, *iya*, and *uya*, but *iwa* becomes *iya*, and *uya* becomes *uwa*, the semi-vowel assimilating to the preceding vowel. In double closure *aw*, *ay* are retained, but in the dialects of Egypt and North Africa *aw* may become *ū*, and in North Africa *ay* may become *ĕ/ĭ* before a consonantal suffix, as in *saqet*, *nisit*.

In the active participle, *-iy-u-*, *-iy-i* become *-i-*, as in جَلٍ for جَلِوٌ, etc., and in the passive participle *-uy-u-* becomes *-iyy-u-* as in مَرْمِيٌّ for مَرْمُيٌ, vulgar *marmī*.

(2) *Abyssinian.*—No change is made with final *awa*, *awu*, *ayu*, but *uw*, of course, becomes *ū* and *iy*>*ī*. In Tigré *awa*, *aya* become *a* as in Arabic. In Tigriña *aw* becomes *ō*, and *ay*>*ē* before a consonantal suffix.

(3) *Hebrew.*—Final *w* and final *y* are confused in one type, as *-ay* always with the vowel *a*, thus final *-aw*, *-ay* become *-a*, with suffixed *-ū* (3rd plur.) *-awu*, *-ayu* become *-ū*.

Before consonantal terminations and suffixes *-aw*, *-ay*, *-iw*, *-iy* become *-ī* in the perfect, *-ē* in the imperfect. The infinitive construct adds ת-.

(4) *Aramaic.*—Final *w* and *y* are confused, and both confuse with final ן, which has lost its consonantal value. Unlike Hebrew we find that Aramaic has verb stems with vowel *a* and others with *i*.

(5) *Assyrian.*—Imperfect shows *-u-* with final *-w*, and *-i-* with final *-y*.

Paradigms of Verbs with Semi-Vowel Radicals

(i) *Verbs with first radical w*

	Arabic	Abyssin.	Hebrew	Aramaic	Assyrian
Primary.					
Perf. .	*walada*	*walada*	*yāladh*	*īledh*	*ullad*
Imperf. .	*yalidu*	*yelad*	*yēlēdh*	*neladh* *netteb*	*ūlid*
Imperat. .	*lid*	*lad*	*lēdh*	*īladh* *teb*	*lid*
Infin. .	*lidat*	*ledat* *ledd*	*lĕdĕth* *lath*	*mēladh* *mettab*	*alād* (*w*)*ašāb*
Reflexive.					
Perf. .	*ittaṣala*	*tawalda*		*'ethīled*	*attašab*
Imperf. .	*yattaṣilu*	*yetwalad*		*nitheled*	*ittašab*
Imperat. .	*ittaṣil*	*tawalad*		*'ethyald*	*tišab*
Infin. .	*ittiṣāl*	*tawaledōt*		*methīlādū*	*tišub*
Causative.					
Perf. .	*'awlada*	*'awlada*	*hōlīdh*	*'awledh*	*ušēšab*
Imperf. .	*yūlidu*	*yawled*	*yōlīdh*	*mawledh*	*ušēšib*
Imperat. .	*'awlid*	*'awled*	*hōlēdh*	*'awledh*	*šūšib*
Infin. .	*'īlād*	*'awledōt*	*hōlīdh*	*mawlādū*	*šūšub*
Passive in N.					
Perf. .			*nōladh*		*a'ašab*
Imperf. .			*yuwwālēdh*		*a'ašib*
Imperat. .			*hiwwāšēb*		

(ii) *Verbs with medial semi-vowel*

(*a*) *Primary. Medial w.*

	Arabic	Abyssin.	Hebrew	Aramaic	Assyrian
Act. Perf.	*qāma* *qumta*	*qōma*	*qām* *qămtā*	*qâm*	*ikân*
	ḫāfa *ḫifta*	*bā'a*	*mēt̲h̲* *măt̲h̲tā* *bōš*		
Imperf.	*yaqūmu* *yaḫāfu*	*yeqūm* *yebā'*	*yāqūm* *yēbōš*	*n^eqūm*	*ikūn*
Imperat.	*qŭm* *ḫăf*	*qūm* *bā'*	*qūm* *bōš*	*qūm*	*kūn*
Ptc.	*qā'im*		*qām* *bōš*	*qā'em*	*kāin*
Infin.	*qawm*	*qawīm*	*qōm* *qūm*	*m^eqām*	*kān-*
Pass. Perf.	*qīma*				
Imperf.	*yuqāmu*				
Ptc.	*maqūl*		*qūm*	*qīm*	

(*b*) *Primary. Medial y.*

	Arabic	Abyssin.	Hebrew	Aramaic	Assyrian
Act. Perf.	*sāra* *sirta*	*šēma*	*śām* (*śīm*) (*sāmōt̲h̲ā*)	*sām*	*iṭāb*
Imperf.	*yasīru*	*yešīm*	*yāśīm*	*n^esim*	*iṭīb*
Imperat.	*sĭr*	*šīm*	*śīm*	*sīm*	*ṭīb*
Ptc.	*sā'im*		*śām*	*sā'em*	*ṭāib*
Infin.	*sayr-*	*šayīm*	*śīm*	*m^esām*	*ṭāb-*

(*c*) *Intensive.*

Act. Perf.	*qawwama*	*qawwama*	*qōmēm*	*qayyem*	*ukān*
Imperf.	etc.	etc.	*y^eqōmēm*	etc.	*ukīn*
Imperat.			*qōmēm*		*kīn*
Ptc.			*m^eqōmēm*		*mukīn*
Infin.			*qōmēm*		*kūn-*
Pass. Perf.			*qōmam*		
Imperf.			*y^eqōmam*		
Ptc.			*m^eqōmam*		

	Arabic	Abyssin.	Hebrew	Aramaic	Assyrian
(*d*) *Causative.*					
Act. Perf. .	*'aqām*	*'aqōma* *'aqăma*	*hēqīm*	*'aqīm*	(SḌ.) *uškān*
Imperf. .	*yuqīm*	*yaqem* *yaqūm*	*yāqīm*	*n^{e}qīm*	*uškīn*
Imperat.	*'aqĭm*	*'aqem* *'aqūm*	*hāqēm*	*'aqīm*	*šukīn*
Ptc. .	*muqīm*		*mēqīm*	*m^{e}qīm*	*muškīn*
Infin. .	*'iqāmat*	*'aqemōt*	*hāqīm*	*m^{e}qāmu*	*šukūn*
Pass. Perf.	*'uqīma*		*hūqam*		
Imperf. .	*yuqāmu*		*yūqam*		
Ptc. .	*muqām*		*mūqām*	*m^{e}qām*	
(*e*) *Passive in N.*					
Perf. .	*inqāma*		*nāqōm*		*ikkān*
Imperf. .	*yanqāmu*		*yiqqōm*		*ikkīn*
Imperat.	*inqăm*		*hiqqōm*		*nakīn*
Ptc. .	*munqām-*		*nāqōm*		*mukkīn*
Infin. .	*inqiyām-*		*hiqqōm*		*nakūn*
(iii) *Verbs with final semi-vowel*					
(*a*) *Primary. Final w.*					
Act. Perf. .	*talā* *saruwa*	*talawa*			
Imperf. .	*yatlū*	*yetlu*			
Imperat.	*utlŭ*	*telew*			
Ptc. .	*tal*(*in*)				
Infin. .	*matw-*	*talewōt*			
Pass. Perf.	*tuliya*				
Imperf. .	*yutlay*				
Ptc. .	*matlūw*				
(*b*) *Primary. Final y.*					
Act. Perf. .	*ramā*	*ramaya*	*rāmā*	*r^{e}mā*	*iramī*
Imperf. .	*yarmī*	*yermī* *ye'bay*	*yirmē*	*nermē*	*irmī*
Imperat.	*irmĭ*	*remey* *'ebay*	*r^{e}mē*	*r^{e}mī*	*rimi*

	Arabic	Abyssin.	Hebrew	Aramaic	Assyrian
Ptc. .	*rām(in)*		*rōmē*	*râmē*	*rām-*
Infin. .	*ramy-*	*rameyōt*	r^e*mōt͟h*	*mermâ*	*ram-ūm*
Pass. Perf.	*rumiya*				
Imperf. .	*yurmā*				
Ptc. .	*marmīy-*		*rāmūy*	r^e*mē*	

(*c*) *Intensitive.*

Act. Perf. .	*rammā* *rammayta*	*rammaya*	*rimmā*	*rammī*	*urammī*
Imperf. .	*yurammī*	*yerammī* (fin. *w*) *yefannū*	y^e*rammē*	n^e*rammē*	*urammī*
Imperat.	*rammĭ*	*rammey*	*rammē*	*rammā*	*rummĭ*
Ptc. .	*muramm(in)*		m^e*rammē*	m^e*rammē*	*murammū*
Infin. .	(*tarmiyat*)	*rammeyōt*	*rammōt͟h*	m^e*rammāyū*	*rummū*

155 (D) Verbs with Initial Hamza

The principal points to be noted about verbs with initial Hamza are (1) the treatment of Hamza following Hamza with a short vowel between, a case which occurs in the perfect causative and in the 1st singular imperfect primary, etc.; (2) the tendency for these verbs to assimilate to those with first radical semi-vowel (cf. 10); and (3) the assimilation of Hamza to reflexive *t*.

(*a*) *Arabic.*—Generally *'a'* > *'ā*, *'i'* > *'ī*, and *'u'* > *'ū*. Thus causative *'āḫadha* for *'a'ḫadha*, imperfect 1st sing. primary *'āḫudhu* for *'a'ḫudhu*, causative *'ūḫidhu* for *'u'ḫidhu*, etc. The verbs *'akala* "eat", *'amara* "command", and *'aḫadha* "seize" follow the analogy of verbs with 1st radical *w*/*y* (cf. 149) and lose the first radical in the imperative, thus *kul*, etc. But this does not hold good after conjunctions *wa-* or *fa-*; nor is this contraction extended to the imperfect. For the assimilation of Hamza to reflexive *t* cf. sect. 25.

In Arabic dialect, chiefly in North Africa, there is a tendency to assimilate these verbs to final semi-vowel roots, as 3rd fem. sing. perfect *klet* for *'akalat*, and hence 3rd masc. *klā*.

(*b*) *Abyssinian.*—Hamza is retained when it is the initial of a syllable, but falls with compensatory lengthening when a closure (cf. 10): thus causative perfect *'a'ḫaza,* imperfect *'ā'ḫaza* (sounded *'āḫaza*); imperfect primary (with inserted *-a-* in the indicative) *ya'aḫaz.* Imperative primary *'aḫaz.*

(*c*) *Hebrew.*—In the 1st person of the imperfect of the verbs *'akal* "eat", *'ābad͟h* "perish", *'āmar* "say", *'ābā* "wish", *'āfā* "cook", the *'a'* becomes *'ā* and thence *'ō,* this being extended by analogy to the whole of the imperfect *yōkal,* etc.; occasionally similar forms appear in other verbs, and especially in *'āḥaz* "take". These analogies, however, are confined to the primary stem.

(*d*) *Aramaic.*—Initial Hamza is not sounded in Syriac, and the following half-vowel is increased to a short vowel, thus *'eḥadh* for *'ᵉḥadh.* Otherwise the verbs with initial Hamza assimilate to those with initial *y-*, and so become as initial *w-* in the causative. For assimilation to reflexive *t* cf. sect. 25.

(*e*) *Assyrian.*—The assimilations follow the lines described in §§ 10, 25, thus *a'bat* becomes *abbat* (primary present), etc.

156 (E) Verbs with the Assimilation of a Radical

The assimilation of a radical has already been treated under the head of assimilation (cf. III, i). Only in the case of first radical *n-* in North Semitic does this lead to further developments. As described (cf. 27), *n* as the closure of a syllable assimilates to the following consonant in contact in Hebrew, Aramaic, and Assyrian. This will happen in verbs having initial *n-* in the imperfect of the primary, in the causative, etc. Thus Hebrew primary imperfect *yingaš* becomes *yiggaš, yinpōl* becomes *yippōl,* etc., and so Aramaic *neppuq* for *nenpuq,* etc. The noteworthy result is that from this imperfect is formed an imperative without the first radical, as in some verbs with initial semi-vowel (cf. 152), thus imperfect *yiggaš* (for *yingaš*), imperative *gaš*, etc. In Hebrew this shortened imperative is formed from imperfects which have vowel *-a-* or *-i-* (*-e-*), but it does not appear when the vowel is *-o-* (*-u-*), as *nᵉfōl*, but in Aramaic and Assyrian it is extended to all stems. In Hebrew the verb נתן, the only one with imperfect *-i-*, also ends in *-n*, and this final assimilates to a following suffix in contact (cf. 27).

	Hebrew		Aramaic		Assyrian		
Primary.							
Perf.	*nāgaš*	*nāfal*	*nāthan*	*nᵉfaq*			
Imperf.	*yiggaš*	*yippōl*	*yittēn*	*neffuq* *nessab*	*nettel*	*iṣṣur*	*iddin*
Imperat.	*gaš*	*nᵉfōl*	*tēn*	*fuq*	*sab*	*uṣur*	*idin*
Causative.							
Perf.	*higgīš*			*'affeq*		*ušanṣir*	
Imperf.	*yaggīš*			*naffeq*			
Imperat.	*haggēš*			*'affeq*		*šunṣir*	
Passive in n-.							
Perf.	*niggaš*						
Imperf.	*yinnagēš*						
Imperat.	*hinnagēš*						

157 (F) Verbs Mediae Geminatae

(*a*) *Arabic.*—(i) When all three syllables have the same vowel, the medial vowel falls out and *madada* becomes *madda*, etc. (cf. 74). Sometimes this is followed by analogy in the verbs with *i/u* after the medial radical, but more often these remain uncontracted.

(ii) When the 2nd and 3rd radicals have vowels but the first has none (following), the second throws its vowel back on the first, so that *yamdudu* becomes *yamuddu*, etc.

(iii) When the 3rd radical has no vowel there is properly no contraction, e.g. *madadta*, etc., but—

(1) In the jussive and in the imperative the analogy of the indicative so far operates that the vowel of the 2nd radical is frequently dropped, thus *yamdud* becomes *yamudd*; but as this leaves a final double without a vowel a supplementary vowel is added, *a* or *i* after *a*/*i*, and *a*, *i*, or *u* after *u*, thus *yamudda*, *yamuddi*, *yamuddu*; and so the imperative *madud* > *mudd* > *muddu*, besides the regular *umdud*, etc. Persons of the imperative, formed directly from the 2nd masc. sing., according to this type, diverge from (ii) above, thus 2nd fem. sing. may be *muddi* from *mudda*, or *umdudi* from *umdud*.

(2) Regularly the 2nd sing. perfect requires *madadta*, but colloquial speech is influenced by the analogy of *madda*, and thus forms *maddayta*, imitating the final -*y* verbs.

(iv) Where the medial or final is duplicated (e.g. conj. ii) no elision is possible, thus *maddada*, *imdadda*, etc.

(v) The above general principles hold good where the vowels are short, although regular forms also occur, as *ṣakaka* "to be knock-kneed", *qaṭaṭa* "be curly", etc. Sometimes they are extended by analogy to cases where the vowels are long, but here the strong forms are commoner.

(*b*) *Abyssinian.*—For the most part these verbs are treated as regular in Abyssinian; only in the perfect, and, occasionally, in the imperfect-imperative, of verbs with *ĕ* (for *ĭ*/*ŭ*) do we find contraction, thus *ḥamma* for *ḥamema* "he was ill", *yenaddu* for *yenadedu* "they burn".

(*c*) *Hebrew.*—(i) As in Arabic the medial loses a short vowel as *săbb* for *sābăb*; and as the first syllable is now closed, there is no reason for lengthening the vowel, and where the 3rd radical is without a vowel the duplicate fails so that *săbb* becomes *săb*, but *săbbū*, etc. Imperfect 2nd fem. plur. *tisbōbnā* becomes *t*^{e}*sŭbbĕnā* or *tissōbnā* (cf. for this *ō*<*aw* with inserted *w*, on the analogy of final semi-vowel stems, the inserted *y* in colloquial Arabic described above). The stem *-subb-* in the former of these reproduces the original *tasububna.*

(ii) When the doubled medial is followed by a consonant suffix a connecting vowel is inserted: (1) before personal endings in the imperfect this is *-ō-*, thus *sabbōthā*, *nᵉsabbōthā*, etc. (2) Before fem. plur. *-nā* of the imperfect-imperative it is *-ey-*. (3) Before pronominal suffixes attached to the imperfect-imperative we find *-ĕ-* as in *yᵉsubbĕnī.*

(iii) When the medial vowel falls away and leaves the first radical with *ŭ* or *ĭ* this accented becomes *ō*, *ē*, as usual, e.g. *hēsēbbā.*

(iv) When the short vowel is left in an open syllable preceding the accent it is necessarily either lengthened or the syllable is closed by doubling the following consonant, thus *yi-* (original *ya-*) in *yāsōb* or *yĭssōb* (cf. 47).

(v) In these verbs Hebrew shows differences of vocalization in the imperfect, thus *yāsōb*, with waw *wayyāsŏb*, suffix *yᵉsŭbbēnī.*

(vi) We find the regular intensitive in use, *hillēl*, etc., but it is more commonly replaced by the *qatal* form, as *sōbēb.*

(*d*) *Aramaic.*—(i) In the perfect when the first radical has only a half-vowel and the second has a full vowel, the latter throws back its vowel to the former, the resulting double being treated as a single consonant, thus *kᵉfaf* becomes *kaf* (for *kaff*), and so *kᵉfaft*(*a*) becomes *kaft*(*a*), but *keffath*, etc., remain.

(ii) In the imperfect the vocalization is the same as in the strong verb, but the second radical assimilates to the first, with which it is in immediate contact, thus *nekfof* becomes *nekkof.* Based on this analogy the imperative appears as *kof.* By analogy this treatment is also extended to the causative, and so *'akfef* becomes *'akkef*, etc.

(iii) In the active participle we have *kā'ef*, as though perfect *kaf* represented a medial *w/y* stem.

(*e*) *Assyrian.*—These verbs are regular in Assyrian, except only in the permansive, where we find *sall*, *sall-at*, etc., like the perfect in West Semitic. Dissimilation often occurs in the intensitive (cf. 32).

	Arabic	Abyssinian	Hebrew	Aramaic
(1) *Primary.*				
Act. Perf. .	*farra*	*ḥamma*	*sab*	*ḥam*
2 masc. sing.	*fararta*	*ḥamamka*	*sabbōt͟hā*	*ḥemmat͟h*
Imperf. . .	*yafirru* *yafrirna*	*yeḥmam*	*yāsōb* *yissōb*	*neḥḥam*
Imperat. .	*ifrir*	*ḥamam*	*sōb*	*ḥam*
Ptc. . .	*fārr*		*sōbēb*	*ḥā'em*
Infin. . .	*farr*		*sōb* *sābōt͟h*	*meḥḥam*
Pass. Perf. .	*furra*			
Imperf. . .	*yufarru*			
Ptc. . .	*mafrūr*		*sābūb*	*ḥ^{a}mīm*
(2) *Causative.*				
Act. Perf. . .	*'afarra*	*'anbaba*	*hēsēb*	*'arres*
2 masc. sing.	*'afrarta*	*'anbabka*	*h^{e}sibbōt͟hā*	*'arrest*
Imperf. . .	*yufirru*	*yānbeb*	*yāsēb* *yăssēb*	*narres*
3 fem. plur.	*yufrirna*	*yānbebā*	*t^{e}sibbenā*	*narr^{e}san*
Imperat. .	*'afrir*		*hāsēb*	*'arres*
Ptc. . .	*mufirr*		*mēsēb*	*narres*
Infin. . .	*'ifrār*		*hāsēb*	*marrāsū*
Pass. Perf. .	*'ufirra*		*hūsab*	
Imperf. . .	*yufarru*		*yūsab* *yŭssab*	
Ptc. . .	*mufarr*		*mūsāb*	*marras*
(3) *Primary Reflexive.*				
Act. Perf. . .	*iftarra*	*tahassa*		*'ethr^{e}ses*
Imperf. . .	*yaftarru*	*yethasas*		*nethr^{e}ses*

	Arabic	Abyssinian	Hebrew	Aramaic
(4) *Causative Reflexive.*				
Perf. . .	*istafarra*			*’ettarras*
Imperf. . .	*yastafirru*			*nettarras*
(5) *Passive in N.*				
Perf. . .	*infarra*		*nāsab*	
Imperf. . .	*yanfarru*		*yissab*	
(6) *Intensitive.*				
Act. Perf. . .	*farrara*	(cf. 32)	*sōbēb*	*bazbez*
Imperf. . .	etc.		*y*^{e}*sōbēb*	*n*^{e}*bazbez*
Pass. Perf. .			*sōbab*	
Imperf. . .			*y*^{e}*sōbab*	

XII

THE PARTICLES

158 (a) The Prepositions

The prepositions generally govern the genitive case. In some instances these prepositions are noun stems originally construct (cf. 127), followed by the annexed genitive, as *taḥta* "under", accusative of *taḥt-un* "the lower part", but we are not entitled to say that this was so with all prepositions. There are certain prepositions of simpler type which show no evidence of having ever been other than particles prefixed to nouns. The preposition may govern the genitive of a noun or of its equivalent, i.e. noun clause or sentence, and in this latter position is followed by the relative pronoun (*mā*) or particle introducing the subordinate clause. But the relative is often added to the preposition before a noun and does not, as a rule, affect its meaning.

The principal prepositions are :—

(i) "in", denoting place, time, instrumental "with", price, cause, etc., and "by" in oaths.

ba-, Arabic *bi-*, Abyssinian *ba-*, *ba'eda* "in the hands of . . .", Hebrew b^{e}-, *ba-*, *bi-*, and so Aramaic.

In combination *fī* (Arabic for *bi-fī* "in the mouth of"), *albilā* (Arabic), b^{e}*lō* (Hebrew) "in not", i.e. "without".

Akin to this is :—

bayn "between", Arabic *bayna*, Tigré, Tigriña *bayna*, Ge‘ez usually with *ba-* as *babayna* ; Hebrew *bēn* ; Aramaic *baynat̲h̲* or *bēn*, *bayn*, *beth* ; Urmi *bīn*, *'embīn* ; Assyrian (*ina*) *birit*.

ina " in ", Assyrian, and Abyssinian *'enta*, Tigré *'et* (for *'ent*). In all its uses this *ina* corresponds to West Semitic *ba-*, etc.

(ii) " to ", denoting dative (recipient, owner, etc.), purpose, direction, towards, etc.

la, Arabic *la-*, more often *li-*; Abyssinian *la-*; Hebrew *la-*, *li-*, *l^e-*; Aramaic *l^e-*, etc., as Hebrew—same root as the following.

'ilā: " towards ", " up to, until "; Arabic *'ilā* (إِلَى), Hebrew, Aramaic *'ĕl* (אֶל, ܠܘܬ). In Arabic لِ is not used in the sense of " towards " or " to " of place, but إِلَى is employed exclusively in this meaning.

ana: " to ", " towards " in Assyrian, equivalent to both the above.

Combinations of *la-*, etc.

Arabic لَدَى " at the hands of ", and so " near ", etc.

Hebrew לִפְנֵי " at the face ", i.e. " near ", Arabic فِى, i.e. *bi-fī* " in ", and Hebrew לְפִי " near " (1 Kings xvii, 1; Hos. x, 12).

Hebrew לְעֵינֵי " before the eyes of . . . ", " in the presence of . . . " (Gen. xlvii, 19; Exod. iv, 30), Syriac ܩܒܠ.

Hebrew לְמַעַן " for the reason of ", i.e. " because ".

(iii) " on ", " over ", of place, etc.

'alā: Arabic عَلَى, Hebrew Aramaic עַל, ܥܠ replacing ל in later Hebrew (Esther iii, 9; Job xxxiii, 23); Assyrian *al*, *alā*, *alī*.

(iv) " like ".

ka: Arabic *ka-*, Hebrew *ka-*, *ki-*, *kᵉ-*, and so Aramaic. Also in Arabic as *kama*, Abyssinian *kama*, Hebrew כְּמוֹ, Aramaic ܐܝܟ, ܐܟܡܐ, Assyrian *kī*, *kīma*.

(v) "from".

min: Arabic مِنْ, Hebrew מִן, Aramaic מִין, ܡܢ, Abyssinian *'am*, *'amna*. Denoting "from", in Arabic as *ex* contrasted with *ab* (عَنْ), and the difference "than" after comparative. Only in later Arabic dialect and Abyssinian and Syriac for the agent.

'an: Arabic عَنْ "from, by".

mundhu: Arabic مُنْذُ, مُذْ "from, since"; Abyssinian *'emze*; Hebrew מֵאָז.

ištu: Assyrian *ištu*, *ultu* "from".

(vi) "with".

ma': Arabic مَعْ, مَعَ; Hebrew עִם; Aramaic ܥܡ; Assyrian *ema*.

'inda: Arabic عِنْدَ, accusative of عِنْدٌ "side"; Hebrew עִמָּד.

(vii) "under, below".

taḥta: Arabic تَحْتَ; Hebrew תַּחַת; Aramaic ܬܚܬ; Abyssinian *ḥatte*, *ḥante* (cf. sect. 75).

šapal, Assyrian.

(viii) "to, up to".

ḥatta: Arabic حَتَّى, عَتَّى, in the dialect of Hudhail; Hebrew עַד; Aramaic ܥܕ; Assyrian *adi*.

'eska: Abyssinian.

(ix) " after ".

ba'da: Arabic بَعْدَ ; Hebrew בְּעַד.

159 (b) Prepositions governing clauses and sentences

These prepositions may govern nouns or sentences which take the place of nouns. Thus we may say " he came to the town for plunder ", in which the preposition " for " governs the noun " plunder ", or " he came to the town because he desired to plunder it ", in which in Semitic the sentence " he desired to plunder it " is treated as a noun governed by the same preposition " for " followed by one of the particles used to introduce the subordinate sentence (أَنْ, أَنَّ, etc.) or by the neuter relative (مَا, etc.). European dictionaries give لِأَنَّ as meaning " because ", but, in fact, it is simply the preposition لِ " for " governing a sentence introduced by the particle أَنَّ. Thus we get such forms as Arabic كَأَنَّ, Hebrew כֵּן, Aramaic ܟ, ܐܟ " as if ", Arabic كَمَا, Hebrew כְּמוֹ, Onq. כְּמָא, Abyssinian *kama*, Assyrian *kīma* for " like as . . . ", and so with the other expressions used to introduce causal, etc., sentences which are simply the prepositions governing dependent clauses. In modern Arabic, and in Hebrew and Aramaic, however, such clauses are most often introduced by nouns in apposition governed by the same prepositions, thus causal " because " is introduced by *bisabab* " by the reason ", or *min sabab* " from the reason . . . " ('Iraq), *likawn* or *min kawn* (Syria, 'Iraq) from *kawn* " state, existence ", *'ala ḫāṭir* or *fī ḫāṭir*

(Algeria, etc.), based on the colloquial use of خَاطِر "sake", and *ʻala šān* (Egypt); so Hebrew יַעַן "reason", used for "because" (1 Kings iii, 11, etc.), or לְיַעַן "on account of" followed by the relative or by the particle כִּי (كَيْ) or כֵּן (كَأَنْ "thus"), as לָכֵן, עַל־כֵּן "therefore"; Aramaic כְּדִי, ܟܰܕ, ܟܶܕ, ܡܛܽܠ "wherefore", etc. In Assyrian similarly the denominal preposition may or may not be followed by the relative, as *aššu* or *aššu ša* "because".

160 (c) The Exclamatory Particles

(i) Particles attracting attention.

Such are the particles used to introduce the vocative, as Arabic يَا, أَ, أَيَا, أَيُّهَا, Abyssinian *'ō*, or suffixed *-ā* (Amharic *hōy*, Tigré *wō*). In Hebrew no such particle occurs, unless we so regard the precative נָא. Aramaic has ܐܘ, ܐܘܝ. Assyrian suffixes *-ā*, *-mā*, and *-āmā/ī*.

(ii) Particles directing attention, as Arabic إِنَّ, Hebrew הֵן, הִנֵּה, Aramaic ܗܐ, ܗܝ, ܗܳܐ; Abyssinian *'ōhō*, or *nā-* with pronominal suffix. But these tend to produce verbal roots, as הִנֵּה "behold", developing into the imperative "look", or are themselves imperatives in origin.

(iii) Other particles, such as those (*a*) expressing aversion as Arabic أُفْ, أُفٌّ, Abyssinian *'enbī*, Hebrew חָלִילָה, Syriac ܦܘܗ; (*b*) of lamentation as Arabic وَا, وَوَى, وَاهَا,

etc. Abyssinian *wayleya*, Hebrew אוֹי, אוֹיָה, אָח, etc., and Aramaic ܘܳܝ, ܘܳܝܠܳܐ, ܐܳܗ, ܐܘܗ should be included, and even possibly those used as calls to animals, etc., though but little grammatical information can be obtained from these interjections (cf. demonstrative roots in §§ 89–96).

161 (d) The Negative Particles

(i) *la* : Arabic لَا. In modern Arabic لَا remains in general use for the absolute "no", and in the form وَلَا ; otherwise in Northern Arabic it is practically extinct, but survives in full force in the Arabic of South Arabia, Mehri, etc., as *lā, lō.*

Hebrew לֹא, לוֹא, אַל.
Aramaic לָא, ܠܳܐ, ܠܳܘ.
Assyrian *lā, ul.*

Compounded بِلَا "without", Hebrew בְּלֹא (cf. לְלֹא), Aramaic ܒܠܳܐ, Assyrian *balū.* With the impersonal verb, Hebrew (לֹאִישׁ), Aramaic ܠܰܝܬ "is not", Arabic لَيْسَ, Arabic لَنْ for أَنْ لَا ; and لَمْ.

(ii) *bal* : Arabic بَلْ, Hebrew בַּל, בְּלִי, לִבְלִי (Job xxxviii, 41), and other compounds, Aramaic ܒܠܳܐ, ܒܠܥܕ.

(iii) *ma* : Arabic مَا, Abyssinian enclitic *-m.* This is the usual negative particle in later Northern Arabic, used even in prohibitions, with suffixed *-š* (Morocco *-šī*) from شَيّ "a thing", as *mā teǧīš en-nahārda* "do not come to-day", etc.

(iv) *'in*: Arabic إِنْ,[1] Abyssinian *'en*, in such forms as *'en-dā'ī* "I do not know", *'enbala* "without", etc., Hebrew אֵין, אַיִן, used also as negative substantive verb; אִי in אִי־נָקִי (Job xxii, 30).

(v) *'ē, 'ī*: Abyssinian *'ē, 'ī*, Tigriña *'ay*, Assyrian *ai, ē*.

162 (e) Interrogative Sentences

A sentence becomes interrogative (*a*) by a particular intonation of the voice, or (*b*) by the use of an interrogative particle, or an interrogative adverb or pronoun.

The interrogative particles are:—

(1) Arabic أَ— (negative أَلَا), Hebrew הֲ, הַ, הֶ (negative הֲלֹא).

(2) Arabic هَلْ, هَلَّا, أَلَّا, these last two with the perfect to chide neglect and with the imperfect to incite to performance; Hebrew הֲל in Deut. xxxii, 6 (according to the נהרדעאי).

(3) Abyssinian *-hū, -nū*, Assyrian *-ū*. Thus Abyssinian *yemaslak-nū* "does it seem to you?" *sōnū, sōhū* "is it?" etc.

Interrogative adverbs.

(1) "how?" Arabic كَيْفَ, Egyptian dialect إِزَّاي; Abyssinian *'efō*. Hebrew Aramaic כַּמָּה, ܟܡܳܐ "like what?" אֵיכָה and אֵיפֹה (cf. Abyssinian). Assyrian *mēnu, mīnu/i*.

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[1] إِنْ كُلُّ نَفْسٍ لَمَّا عَلَيْهَا خَافِظٌ "there is no soul but over it is a keeper" (Qur. lxxxvi, 4).

(2) "why?" Arabic لِمَ, i.e. "for what?" Egyptian dialect *'ay, lay, 'ala šān 'ay* (for *'ay* cf. interrogative pronoun, sect. 106). Hebrew לָמָה, מַדּוּעַ, לָמָּה, עַל־מָה, Aramaic ܠܡܢܐ, עַד־מָה.

(3) "when?" Arabic مَتَى; Abyssinian *mā'zē* "what time?" so Hebrew מָתַי, Aramaic ܐܡܬܝ.

(4) "where?" Arabic أَيْنَ, أَيْنَ, أَنَّى; Abyssinian *'aytē*; Hebrew Aramaic אֵיךְ, אֵיכָה, אֵי, ܐܝܟܐ; Assyrian *ai.*

For the interrogative pronouns cf. §§ 102–6.

163 (f) The Conditional Particles

The conditional particles introducing the protasis or "if" clause are of two kinds—(i) those expressing "if" which introduces an uncertainty, or negative "if not", as in the sentence "if he asks me for a dinar I will give it to him", and (ii) those expressing "if" introducing a statement known or believed to be untrue, as "if he had asked me for a dinar I would have given it", implying the fact that he did not ask.

(i) "If" introducing uncertainty.

Arabic	Abyssinian	Hebrew	Aramaic	Assyrian
إِنْ (هِنْ)	*'emma*	אִם (later) הֵן	ܐܢ	
لَئِنْ, إِمَّا (negative)	*la'emma*			*šumma*
		אִם לֹא	ܐܢܠܐ, ܐܠܐ	

(ii) "If" introducing statement known or believed to be untrue.

Arabic	Abyssinian	Hebrew	Aramaic
لَوْ	*sōba*	לוּ, אִלּוּ	ܐܠܘ
لَوْ لَمْ, لَوْلَا		לוּלֵא (Jdg. xiv, 18)	

Aramaic does not use ܠܘ alone, but only in the combination ܐܠܘ (אִלּוּ).

Assyrian *lū* is used in the sense of "or", and so does not correspond with Arabic لَوْ, etc.

INDEX

A

Absolute Pronoun, 139.
Abyssinian, 22–3, etc.
Accent, 93.
Accusative, 203.
Adverbial Accusative, 203.
Afformatives to Nouns, 187, etc.
Aḫlame, 9.
Aktionsart, 19, 235.
Amharic, 23.
Annexation, 198.
Arabic, 16, etc.
— loan words from Syriac, 87.
Aramaic, 13, etc.
Arimi, 9.
Aspiration, 88.
Assimilation of Consonants, 68, etc.
— of Vowels, 126–7.

B

Babylonian, 7, etc.
Berber, 212, 220, 228.
Bishari, 214, 228.
Broken Plurals, 193.

C

Canaan, 9.
Cases, 195.
Causative, 218.
Comparison of Adjectives, 206.
Conative, 217.
Conditional Particles, 275.
Construct, 198, 205.
Contraction of Vowels, 116.
" Covered " Consonants, 56, etc.

D

Demonstrative Pronouns, 158, etc.
Dentals, 29, 53, etc.
Determination, 204.
Dialects of Arabic, 18, 20–1.
Diphthongs, 113–16.
Dissimilation of Consonants, 81, etc.
— of Vowels, 127, etc.
Dual, 195.

E

Egyptian, 5, 139, 140, 176, 183, 212, 214, 220, 228.
Elision, 135.
Emphatic, 30.
Energetic, 238, 240.
Exclamatory Particles, 272.

F

Final Group of Consonants, 133.

G

Galilæan Dialect, 47.
Ge'ez, 1, 22–3.
Gender, 191.

H

Half-vowel, 92.
— inserted, 132.
Hamitic, 5.
Hamza, 30, etc.
Haplology, 135.
Hebrew, 11–12.
Hijaz, 18.
Hims Dialect, 82.

I

Imale, 95.
Imperative, 246.
Imperfect Tense, 244.
Inception, Group of Consonants, 129.
Indicative, 238, 239.
Infinitive, 250.
Informatives, 186.
Inserted Vowel, 129.
Intensitive, 211–17.
Interrogative Pronouns, 173.
— Forms, 274.
Išmam, 91.

J

Jussive, 238–9.

L

Labials, 30.
Language, how transmitted, 3.
Laryngals, 29, etc.
Lateral Consonants, 63.
Long Vowels, 94–103.

M

Mandæan, 16.
Medial Group, 132.
Metathesis, 137.
Moabite, 12.
Moods, 238, etc.

N

Nabatæan, 13.
Negative Particles, 273.
Nejd, 18.
Nouns, 175.
Number, 192.

P

Palatals, 29, 50, etc.
Participles, 249.
Participial Tenses, 247.
Passive, by Vowel Change, 233.
— with *n*-, 223.
Perfect Tense, 234–5, 241.
Permansive, 246.
Phoenician, 6, 10, 56.
Plural, 192.
— Formatives, 193.
Preformatives to Nouns, 180.
Prepositions, 269, etc.
Primary Theme, 211.
Pronouns, Personal, 139.
Prosthetic Vowel, 129.

R

Reflexive, 225.
Relative Pronoun, 172.
Relative used to denote Genitive, 200.

S

Samaritan, 14.
Semitic, 1, 2, 4, 6.
Semi-vowels, 30, etc.
Sentence defined, 24.
Short Vowels, 103–13.
Sibilants, 29, 53, etc.
Sonants, 30.
Subjunctive, 238, 239.
Suffixed Pronoun, 149, etc.
Sumerian, 7–9, 50.
Syllable, 24, etc.
Syriac, 14.

T

Targums, 14.
Tenses, 19, 229, 230, 231, 234, etc.
Themes of the Verb, 209.
Tigré, 23.
Tigriña, 23.
Time Relations in Tenses, 247.
Transcription, 27–9.

V

Velars, 29, 48, etc.
Verb, 208.
Vocabulary distinct from Language, 4.
Voiced Consonants, 30.
Voiceless Consonants, 30.
Vowels modified, 120.
— influenced by Consonants, 120.

Z

Zinjirli Inscription, 56.

QUR'ĀN REFERENCES

			PAGE				PAGE
Sura . . .	ii,	3	. 237	Sura . . .	vii,	110	. 237
		21	. 235		xi,	5	. 237
		23	. 236		xvi,	19	. 162
		30	. 235–6		xvii,	22	. 237
		46	. 237		xxvii,	68	. 69
		151	. 96		xlviii,	29	. 76
	iii,	19	. 236		lxiii,	10	. 69
	vi,	25	. 71		lxxx,	3	. 70
		153	. 70		lxxxvi,	4	. 274

SCRIPTURE REFERENCES

PAGE
Gen.. . . ii, 1 . 218
4 . 199
6 . 237
iii, 1 . 206
22 . 236
23 . 79
iv, 11
(Samar. vers.) 152
vi, 17 . 140
vii, 6 . 202
16 . 222
xi, 30 . 66
xiv, 65 . 165
xvi, 1 . 189
xx, 60 (Sam.) 152
xxii, 13 . 41
xxiv, 3 . 199
40 . 236
xxx, 9 . 218
38 . 245
xlii, 11 . 39
19 . 190
xliv, 7 . 237
xlv, 8 . 145
xlvii, 19 . 269
23 . 162
xlix, 11 . 197
Exod. . . iii, 2 . 218
iv, 30 . 269
xiii, 15 . 237
xvi, 7 . 142
xviii, 15 . 236
xxxii, 1 . 153
Lev. . . xiv, 37 . 219
Num. . . i, 47 . 227
xxi, 14 . 66
xxiii, 18 . 197
xxiv, 7 . 213
Deut. . . i, 31 . 217
39 . 206
ii, 7 . 217
iv, 2 . 213
viii, 3 . 243
xxxi, 29 . 55
242
xxxii, 5 . 214
6 . 274
36 . 55
242
Joshua . . xiv, 11 . 203–4
Judges . . vi, 20 . 165
xiii, 4 . 99

PAGE
Judges . . xiv, 18 . 276
xx, 15 . 227
xxi, 9 . 227
Ruth . . ii, 8 . 246
1 Sam. . . i, 6 . 60
20 . 105
iv, 19 . 253
xxi, 3 . 217
8 . 201
xxiv, 19 . 144
xxv, 5 . 105
xxviii, 15 . 106
2 Sam. . . xx, 5 . 39
1 Kings . ii, 36 . 167
iii, 11 . 272
2 Kings . iv, 25 . 165
xiii, 14 . 237
1 Chron. . xiii, 12 . 39
2 Chron. . xx, 35 . 227
Ezra . . iv, 13 . 166
218
222
245
15 . 190
16 . 227
v, 3, 9 . 218
17 . 166
vi, 2 . 190
14 . 218
vii, 17 . 182
26 . 189
Esther . . iii, 9 . 269
Job . . . i, 5 . 237
ii, 11 . 178
vi, 3 . 204
ix, 15 . 217
xv, 30 . 219
xvi, 6 . 214
xxxiii, 23 . 269
25 . 138
xxxviii, 41 . 273
Ps. . . xii, 8 . 160
xxx, 4 . 252
xxxv, 6 . 214
xxxviii, 11 . 214
lviii, 9 . 219
lxxii, 4 . 202
lxxiii, 9 . 253
xci, 3 . 179
cx, 4 . 197
cxxxii, 12 . 160
cxxxvii, 6 . 206
20, 28 78

PAGE
Prov. . . xxi, 8 . 214
xxiv, 3 . 72
xxvi, 26 . 72
xxviii, 5 . 202
Eccles. . . i, 6 . 217
ii, 2 . 160
vii, 16 . 72
Song. of Sol. i, 6 . 214
Isa. . . . . i, 16 . 72
viii, 23 . 197
xi, 2 . 199
xviii, 5 . 109
xxii, 6 . 213
17 . 213
xxv, 7 . 256
xxvi, 11 . 243
xxvii, 1 . 190
xxxiii, 10 . 72
xxxiv, 13 . 109
xxxvii, 2 . 206
xli, 17 . 138
liii, 1 . 243
Jer. . . . . iii, 5 . 78
vi, 11 . 213
viii, 1 . 199
xviii, 14 . 138
xxiii, 13 . 72
xxv, 3 . 222
xlix, 15 . 206
lxi, 25 . 213
Lam. . . i, 20 . 214
ii, 11 . 214

PAGE
Ezek. . . xvi, 43 . 162
xxviii, 3 . 206
xxxvi, 35 . 165
Dan.. . . ii, 11 . 107
20 . 245
30 . 216
31 . 256
35 . 125
43 . 245
iii, 1 . 222
3 . 256
12 . 166
203
25 . 162
29 . 81
v, 2 . 221
34 . 182–3
vi, 14 . 55
15 . 110
20 . 214
vii, 4 . 125
7 . 190
24 . 222
26 . 81
viii, 22 . 245
x, 17 . 39
Hos.. . . vii, 16 . 160
ix, 6 . 109
8 . 179
Matt. . . x, 16 . 162
xvi, 16 . 201